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# **HUMAN ORDER**



# HUMAN ORDER

BY

H. G. MUDGAL

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**TO  
THE INDIA OF TOMORROW  
IN FREEDOM  
LEADING MANKIND TO  
FREEDOM, BROTHERHOOD AND PEACE**





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## THE AUTHOR EXPLAINS

This book has been written under great stress and pressure of time. It has been mostly written in trains, trams, buses and tea shops at odd moments.

As this book deals with freedom, it is written in simple, straightforward Americanese, the lingo of free men. The sticklers for "King's" English may have to have this translated into their own precious dialect if they care to understand the meaning and significance of Indian Nationalism.

"Human Order" which is really the Manifesto of Indian Nationalism has given cohesion and direction to the stirring ideas and idealism of our Nationalism as expounded by our great patriots. It has further woven them into a national and world program which enables India to become a leader of mankind.

The Constitution of the Federal Union of India is an adaptation of the American Constitution to the prevailing conditions of India and to India's needs of today and tomorrow. Although in many places whole clauses of the American Constitution have been retained without changing even a comma, it has been adapted with full and mature knowledge of its origin and growth and also of its strength and weakness. It is also grafted on to India with full and mature knowledge of the strength and weakness as well as the current and future needs of India.

The articles on the Minorities and Princes are a dispassionate survey of the problems they present, a solution for which has been incorporated in the fundamental law of the nation itself.

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The Indo-British settlement as outlined in this book has been advocated by the author ever since 1937. If Britain wishes to remain a first class European power after this war, its statesmen will do well to accept this settlement without further delay. A friendly India will be a source of great strength to Britain's future economy.

The need for presenting this volume has arisen from the fact that all the elements concerned with the destiny of India—the political parties, the minorities, the British Government—deal only in vagueness, vague fears, vague demands, vague promises, vague values. Therefore it has become imperative to place a definite program with a definite demand, a definite guarantee, a definite destiny before all the elements. If this definite Constitution does not satisfy any given element, let it then say what else will satisfy it **and say it as definitely.** VAGUENESS MUST BE BANISHED FROM INDIAN LIFE FOR EVER FROM NOW ON.

When India's problems are reduced to definiteness it will be discovered that their common denominator will be found in the ideas, plans and programs of this volume.

Only one problem has not been touched, and that is the present Indo-British deadlock. The reason is that the dominant party at the moment to the deadlock, the British Government, is controlled today by persons who do not really believe in freedom and democracy, let alone in India's freedom. Therefore, it is futile to suggest any workable solution of the present deadlock as long as these persons continue to rule Britain.

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Indian Nationalism has still an uphill task before British imperialism disappears. Possibly, it has another decade of intensive struggle ahead, the like of which India has not yet experienced. But Indian Nationalism must be and is prepared to undergo any sacrifice to regain India's freedom and assume its rightful place as an equal among equals.

H. G. MUDGAL

February 1943  
Bandra, Bombay



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## BEING

### THE MANIFESTO OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

**I**NDIAN Nationalism is today a world force. It is not merely a national movement for the freedom of India. It is a movement for a way of life which shall lead mankind, irrespective of caste, class, creed, color, race or sex, to full freedom, prosperity, peace and happiness.

Indian Nationalism is a movement for the liberation of mankind from economic exploitation, from political enslavement, from social degradation, from fear, greed and cruelty, from war.

Knowing that man is the greatest enemy of man, Indian Nationalism has been working ceaselessly under the very human and democratic leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, **to convert man into the greatest friend of man.** This is at once its duty and its mission, as well as an obligation imposed on it by its cultural heritage and by historical urgency.

Indian humanism which had been for milleniums a beacon light radiating to all mankind the rays of freedom of spirit, religious and social tolerance, hospitality and chivalry, and penetrating and enduring wisdom, had been dimmed for over eight centuries by the fog of alien domination. And now this fog is being dissipated by India's dynamic idealism. Once again Indian humanism is assuming its rightful position as a beacon light.



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### **THE RISE OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM**

The British appeared on the scene in India at a time when Indian society had reached the nadir of its decline and decadence and exploited it with consummate skill to their own advantage. The result was that India became the British Empire as well as the inspiration for European imperialism which has spread misery and havoc over Asia, Africa, America and Austral-Asia for over a century.

The technique of British imperialism has been entirely different from that of all other known empires in history. This difference lay in the fact that the British did not establish themselves as an imperial power as the Moguls had done and come to live and merge with the people of India. Instead they organised impersonal exploitation of India, its manpower, its accumulated wealth, its material resources, directly and indirectly, draining the booty to their own country.

In the early days of their conquest of India through Indians they took away so much of India's wealth that it became instrumental to set the Industrial Revolution going in England. Without Indian gold the industrial revolution in England would have most certainly died a still death.

The British control of India gave the west ideas of innumerable fine industries which were flourishing in the country. Indeed India was till 1830 the greatest exporter of exquisite manufactured goods to all parts of the world, and of course had a world monopoly of cotton textiles and their export. Today's generation, whether of India, Europe or America, cannot imagine

that without deliberate destruction of Indian industries, especially of India's textile industry, the machine industry could never have competed successfully against the handicrafts of India. And we must remember that the first great industry that rose in England was that of cotton textiles, and that that success was made possible only through the destruction of the Indian handloom industry through the British political control over India.

This success of the British in organizing the exploitation of India and through it in building machine industries in Britain tempted France, Belgium, Holland and Germany and later Russia, the United States and Japan to copy Britain's system of imperialism and economic exploitation. And these powers have been busy for over a hundred years robbing both the flower of mankind in Asia as well as the childlike, helpless people of Africa.

Indian Nationalism therefore feels, and rightly, that our ancestors, by failing to fight for and retain our freedom have caused the loss of freedom to Burma, Ceylon, Siam, Assam, Cambodia, Island India,\* the Philippines, China, Iran, Arabia, Egypt and all Africa. Just as the primary guilt for European imperialism rests on the shoulders of Britain, so also the primary guilt for the miseries of the subjugated peoples of Asia and Africa and the responsibility for their emancipation rests solely on the shoulders of India.

Hence it is Britain, the mother of imperialism and its sulky sisters—capitalism, socialism, communism and

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\* The Dutch rightly call Java, Sumatra and other East Indies, Island India, (द्वीपयुक्त भारत) which they really are.

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fascism, on the one hand and Indian Nationalism, the true champion of freedom for all oppressed peoples in Asia and Africa, on the other, who are the only true antagonists in the world conflict of today.

No wonder that the British statesmen of all parties and cliques fear most Indian Nationalism as their fore-ordained nemesis. They hope to make terms with the dollar imperialism of America, the red imperialism of Russia, the brown imperialism of Germany, the black imperialism of Italy, but not with Indian Nationalism. The reason is that Indian Nationalism is implacably opposed to imperialism—the system of economic, political and moral exploitation of one people by another, and the British statesmen know it. That is why they hate Indian Nationalists more than they hate Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo.

But Indian Nationalism shall and must brush aside British hatred, British intrigues, British cupidity. Its march towards freedom, freedom for India, freedom for Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, ~~Assam~~ <sup>Assam</sup>, Island India, the Phillipines, China, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Ethiopia, Libya, Tripoli, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, West Africa, East Africa, Central Africa, South Africa, Madagascar—must go on and inexorably.

Indian Nationalism cannot compromise with imperialism or its still more perverted forms of communism, fascism or nazism. It alone realizes that there is no half-way house between human freedom and human slavery. That is why it has fought for and sympathized with Turkey, Russia, Ethiopia, China, Czechoslovakia and Spain when their freedom was jeopardized. Thus it has become the boldest champion of human freedom

without distinction of racial, religious or national barriers.

### **INDIAN NATIONALISM vs. IMPERIALISM**

Indian Nationalists know full well that a Free India without complete annihilation of imperialism in all its forms will not be secure from other elements of aggression. The destruction of British imperialism is only the beginning of Indian Nationalism's mission. Indian Nationalism must see, above all in its own interest, the complete dissolution of French imperialism Dutch imperialism, Belgian imperialism, Spanish imperialism, Portuguese imperialism and Japanese imperialism as well.

If the British people who were on the brink of slavery under Hitler only a short while ago, if the French, Belgian and Dutch peoples who have been forced to taste the bitter bread of slavery by Hitler and toil for him, do not realize the value of freedom for the peoples whom they have been bleeding and exploiting so long, if the self-styled democratic powers do not agree to free all the peoples under various imperialisms after this war, then it will be the plain duty and proud privilege of Indian Nationalism to fight for and vindicate mankind's freedom everywhere.

O, the peoples of Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Annam, Cambodia Island India, China, the Philippines, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Libya, Tripolitania, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and all Africa—

Know that Indian Nationalism in fighting British imperialism to the bitter end is also fighting the imperialism which is holding you under its iron heels;

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Know that Indian Nationalism in fighting for India's freedom is fighting for your own freedom as well;

Indian Nationalism declares to you in particular and to the world in general that **freedom is indivisible, that peace is indivisible, that prosperity is indivisible, that happiness is indivisible, both nationally and internationally.**

## INDIAN NATIONALISM AND THE WAR

Indian Nationalism which has fought in its own way against fascism and nazism, and consistently too, from their very birth, knowing that they are merely uglier profiles of the same vicious imperialism it is so deadly set against, has been eager to join hands with the democratic forces to defeat German, Italian and Japanese aggressions.

Indian Nationalism has proclaimed from the very outbreak of the present war :

“We, the Indian People as a free people, as free as the British, as free as the American, as free as the Russian, as free as the Chinese people and as their absolute equals, shall fight the battle of freedom and shall make equal sacrifices in order to ~~fight the battle of freedom and shall make equal sacrifices in order to~~ annihilate aggression whether from Hitler, or from Mussolini, or from Tojo, or from Churchill....”

But in order to become an effective combatant on the freedom front, Indian Nationalism has demanded that **India must be declared a free nation first.**

It is obvious that **India in slavery cannot fight for freedom and democracy for others.**

It is obvious that India in bondage, with its hands and feet in chains, cannot march in step with free Britons, with free Americans, with free Russians, with free Chinese, to attack aggressors.

It is also obvious that India in bondage cannot hold its head high in this march of the free.

It is even more obvious that India with its tied hands cannot grasp **the guns of freedom** firmly to shoot down traitors to freedom.

But the British politicians who rule Britain and who are the cause of India's bondage, and thus traitors to freedom, are playing a game of double morality during this war as ever. They are political Dr. Jekylls and Mr. Hydes. They affirm freedom **for the colourless** under Hitler, but **deny freedom to the colourful under themselves** or under their fellow European imperialists or even under the Japanese.

Just as they brought about this war by setting to their rival imperialists an example in exploiting other people's lands, so also the British imperialists have been prolonging this war by refusing to let go their stranglehold on India. They have feared the co-operation of a free India lest that free India overthrow their own greed and deprive them of their illegitimate advantage over India which has made them a "great nation."

Instead of inviting Indian Nationalism to join the **freedom front** and fight fascism and nazism, British

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imperialists are fruitlessly though frantically endeavoring to sow fright of aggression from the west and of aggression from the east into the minds of Indians. But Indian Nationalism laughs with scorn at these **frantics** of British imperialism, knowing that while aggression from the west or aggression from the east is still only a threatened possibility, India is already in the grip of highly aggravated British aggression.

Of course, Indian Nationalism is fighting and will continue to fight the present British aggression as well as the future threatened aggressions from the east or west, from the north or south, even if it has to fight alone and only with bare hands, with naked spirit, but even so with immortal ideas.

The champion of Britain's freedom, Churchill, had the nerve to tell his people that they need not fear Indian Nationalism as he had stationed more "white" soldiers in India than ever in all its history. And he has still more brazen nerve to proclaim that Britain was determined to hold India as it was "Britain's." He also declared that he had not become his king's first minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.

But Indian Nationalism must and shall win the freedom of India in spite of all the "white" troops in the world. British imperialism must be liquidated not only in the interest of India's freedom, but also in the interest of Britain's freedom as well as in the interest of world peace.

As long as India is in bondage, there will be no peace in the world.

If the British and allied statesmen believe that they will win this war against Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo without recognizing the freedom of India and of other "dependencies" and "colonies" by fooling them with false promises, they are living in a fool's paradise. They shall then certainly lose the peace even if they manage to win the war by making others fight for them.

### INDIAN NATIONALISM AND A JUST PEACE

Indian Nationalism pledges itself solemnly to tear to pieces any unjust peace made to suit the greed of western imperialism. What Hitler did to the Versailles Treaty will be nothing compared with what Indian Nationalism will do to the self-renewing lease for European imperialism which the coming peace threatens to become.

The silence of the British and American statesmen regarding freedom for all men irrespective of color, creed or race, is ominous. But if they are able to carry out their design of retaining their imperialism, Indian Nationalism shall not rest till European imperialism of every shade liquidates itself completely.

The peace aims of Indian Nationalism are then these:

1. The liberation of all Asiatic and African territories and peoples from the Japanese, British, French, Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish and Belgian imperialisms.
2. No vengeance upon and no enslavement of the peoples of Germany, Japan and Italy, but an unequivocal guarantee to them of self-government and economic and cultural co-operation.



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3. Complete world disarmament.
4. A permanent Peace Council to eliminate the fundamental causes of war, on the executive of which the National Government of India and the National Government of China shall have full representation.
5. An International Police Force to assure international peace in which the National Government of India and the National Government of China shall be represented in proportion to their population.
6. A World Court to assure international justice on which India and China shall have full representation.
7. A World Economic Council to promote planned industrialization and scientific agriculture in every part of the globe so that the incentive to economic exploitation of one people by another will be completely eliminated.

And the National Government of India and the National Government of China to have full representation on this World Economic Council.

8. A World Social Development Council to develop and aid social progress among the less fortunate groups of people throughout the world, on which the National Government of India and the National Government of China shall have full representation.

### **THE NATIONAL PROGRAM**

The immediate program of Indian Nationalism is national emancipation which will then be quickly followed by national reconstruction in every field.

The struggle against British imperialism may yet assume graver forms than hitherto. Indian Nationalism has no illusions about an easy and quick solution of its conflict with British imperialism.

As Indian Nationalism has grown from strength to strength, the British imperialists have tried their utmost to weaken it by organizing certain self-seeking, fifth column elements in India to oppose it from within. While these elements have in fact made Indian Nationalism through their disloyal and unpatriotic opposition, a more determined and tenacious opponent of British imperialism, they have nevertheless been of some nuisance value to Britain in its grim fight against Indian Nationalism. They have at least enabled Britain to hold India in slavery a little longer.

### **BRITISH IMPERIALISTS & INDIAN MUSLIMS**

The first element British imperialism organized against Indian Nationalism was that of Muslims. Subsequently they recruited the Indian liberals (formerly known as "moderates"). Later on they recruited the Indian Princes and have now recruited the depressed classes.

The Muslim League was brought into being by British Imperialism in 1905 and had remained moribund till the outbreak of the present war. Suddenly the British Secretary of State for India **recognized** it as the "only" organization of the Muslims, encouraged its leader to imitate the pose, manners, language, ideology and tactics of Hitler, applauded him even when he talked utter nonsense and directed the Anglo-

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Indian newspapers to support him and his program of treachery to his Motherland. Thus the British imperialists who are supposed to be fighting for freedom and democracy created a **full-blooded but petty SHADOW HITLER** in the present leader of the Muslim League.

### BRITISH IMPERIALISTS & INDIAN LIBERALS

Indian Liberals who sabotaged Indian Nationalism, declared "no confidence" in democracy and deserted the Indian National Congress in 1919, all because they could no longer command the confidence of a vast majority of Indian Nationalists, also served British imperialism well till recently. But today they have become a disillusioned lot and hesitate to lend their paws to pull the chestnuts out of fire for British imperialism.

### BRITISH IMPERIALISTS & INDIAN PRINCES

The Indian Princes who were always kept in their proper places and the "treaties, sanads and engagements" with whom were completely ignored, if not invariably violated, are now being trotted in all their feudal splendor to battle for British imperialism against Indian Nationalism. While a few noble princes have tacitly sided with India's freedom, even they have been so afraid of their British overlords as not to side openly with Indian Nationalism. The rest of the "princely order" has of course been weak-kneed, stupid and short sighted enough to dance to any tune called by British imperialism and fight a futile battle against Indian Nationalism.

### BRITISH IMPERIALISTS & DEPRESSED CLASSES

British imperialism has always believed in the **social status quo** in India and thus become an active party to the outrageous conditions under which the depressed classes have been forced to live. It never had nor will ever have the guts to destroy the accumulated evils in India's social system, without destroying which the depressed classes cannot be emancipated even partially. Only Indian Nationalism can undertake this **thorough-going social revolution** and raise the status of Harijans to that of **complete human beings** and on a permanent basis.

But British imperialism is trying to fool Harijans by patronizing a few of their "leaders" and then telling them that they as a class will benefit if their "leaders" hold half a dozen Government jobs paying fat salaries. However, the Harijan masses have been increasingly recognizing that their only true emancipation lies in Indian Nationalism.

### ROOT CAUSE OF COMMUNAL TENSION

In truth, the main springs of the communal tension in India are to be found in the scramble for grabbing highly paid soft jobs which British imperialism controls and dispenses, and it dispenses them during the last thirty years increasingly only to those who uphold its stranglehold on India. Just as it set one Indian king against another, always dangling before one or the other greater power and territory and thus conquered India, so also it now seeks to retain India by setting one community against another by offering more of the highly paid jobs to the community which supports its grip on India.

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### **THE WINDMILL OF INDIAN NATIONALISM**

But in vain shall the Don Quixotes of Indian communalism and British imperialism pit their armor against Indian Nationalism which is now a resurgent world force. Neither Indian communalists—a special breed of jackals who speedily jump to gobble up any small hare killed in action by the daring of Indian Nationalism nor the bullying British imperialism shall withstand the onrush of Indian Nationalism and its mission.

### **FIGHT FOR ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION**

Social reconstruction of India is the crux of our national fight for freedom. Without social reconstruction our freedom will be a mockery and an illusion. That is why Indian Nationalism brushes aside all side issues raised by self-seeking elements, as freedom is an essential prerequisite to launch social reconstruction.

But social reconstruction which will eliminate all caste, communal canker and religious idiocy, class distinction and special prerogatives, will not be possible unless there is a complete economic emancipation of the masses of India. In order to achieve this emancipation in the shortest possible period the methods and means of production in India will have to change radically.

Indian Nationalism recognizes the fact that the industrial revolution has taken such deep roots in every continent that it is no longer possible to arrest its further progress nor is there any sense in arresting it if one could.

In fact the nations which have accepted the methods of production initiated by Industrial Revolution, have become strong and even progressive. But when strong industrialized nations seek to gain a permanent advantage over non-industrialized countries, forcing them to remain producers of mere raw materials, modern imperialism is born.

Imperialism can be explained as **unbalanced economy** of the modern world where only a quarter are industrialized and three-quarters remain agriculturists, the former seeking to exploit the latter. Therefore, in order to eradicate modern imperialism, India, China, Indo-China, Island India and all the African territories must become industrialized at the earliest possible moment. When economic balance is thus restored to the entire world through industrialization, the evils of imperialism will be crushed.

It is therefore the duty of Indian Nationalism to industrialize India rapidly, but at the same time conserve national resources and in the interest of the masses. It is only by increasing the productivity of Indian industry, agriculture and labor that the abominable poverty of the Indian masses will be abolished.

Indian Nationalism is in fact dedicated to the development of modern industries, large scale, medium and small, as well as cottage industries, so that our masses can escape once for all from the whirlpool of poverty. It plans to accomplish this without wasting national energies in conflicts between class and class, between capital and labor, between producer and distributor, between city dweller and rural man, by national con-

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trol over greed and cupidity as well as by developing a new type of humanistic education.

Agriculture has been stagnant in India as the farmer is ignorant and too poor to utilize modern science and modern implements. He has also destroyed his chances of progress by too much fragmentation of his land. This problem Indian Nationalism proposes to solve by introducing **co-operative corporate farming** whereby the farmer will retain the ownership of his land as well as benefit from large scale, scientific farming.

Protection of labor without harming the legitimate rights of capital and management shall be the greatest concern of Indian Nationalism.

## **FIGHT FOR KNOWLEDGE**

The greatest need of the Indian masses today is knowledge, even greater than that of bread. When the mind of our masses is rebuilt through proper education the problem of bread as well as the problem of social justice will be much more easily solved.

It is therefore imperative that compulsory free education must be introduced among children as well as among the adults throughout the entire country. In order to finance the refashioning of the minds of 400,000,000 Indians the National Government of India shall float Education Bonds which the country can absorb easily and gladly.

## **FIGHT FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE**

The greatest internal fight Indian Nationalism shall have to wage will be the fight against caste which must be eradicated from the soil of India and its social

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system as its corroding influence on human soul is most pernicious. In order to secure the maximum results out of freedom and democracy, caste has to be utterly destroyed, and a new social system based on economic, political and social equality and justice has to be built up, through the deliberate efforts of the National State. In the future social polity of India no recognition shall be conferred on caste, creed, class, race, color or sex.

The most vital part of the social reconstruction of India will be the absolute recognition of woman as man's equal in every sphere of life.

## **SCIENCE AND REASON**

The culture that will emerge under triumphant Indian Nationalism will be dominated by science and reason. This culture will be a fusion of the best elements in the old Indian culture, Islamic and Christian cultures, Confucian ideology as well as the modern scientific spirit.

Religion as a personal affair will be respected and guaranteed against interference. At the same time, however, the individuals will be encouraged to look well into the mouth of their faith in the bright light of reason.

## **GUARANTEE OF FAIR PLAY**

### **To British Business**

Indian Nationalism guarantees absolute fairplay to British business in India. It will have all the privileges its own government in Britain confers on Indian business or it enjoys in a free country like the United



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States. Of course, it cannot have and need not expect any special privileges.

### **To Minorities**

No minority, however, small or large, need worry about its legitimate rights and equal economic, social, political and cultural justice. In a free, united India they will be able to fare much better than under the shelter of foreign domination.

### **To the Princes**

Indian princes shall have the greatest opportunity for the first time to serve their people, their country and their own abiding interests with dignity and honor. In a free India they will be free men, reigning over their happy and prosperous domains with the willing consent and participation of their free people. As long as they respect and cherish the freedom of their people and the freedom of India, Indian Nationalism will see that our princes will feel absolutely secure and happy and grow greatly in prestige, stature and prosperity.

### **To Indian Defense Forces**

Some evil tongues of those who have evil designs for holding India in perpetual bondage, have been whispering that if Indian Nationalism gains control of India, the interests of the Indian Defense Forces will suffer. It is an unworthy and false insinuation.

On the contrary, Indian Nationalism salutes the heroic Indian soldiers, sailors and airmen and is very proud of their record. In the present war, the only real fighting on the side of the Allies has been done by our defense forces. While glorious retreats were

harvested by others, our great fighters attacked, attacked, and smashed forward. Although they have been denied their just rights of being leaders, they have initiated, led and succeeded in many campaigns. And yet to the utter shame of India in bondage, there is not a single Indian general, not a single Indian admiral, not a single Indian air commodore who can openly plan campaigns and lead armies, battleships and air squadrons in his own right.

But under Indian Nationalism, this shame shall be wiped out instantly. Our brave men of the Defense Forces shall have no limit to their rise on merit. They shall become the highest military, naval and air officers and serve the nation. And the Nation shall stand by them, shall glorify them, shall offer them the highest emoluments and honor.

Indian Nationalism repeatedly salutes our brave Defense Forces and is confident that they will stand by the nation and will not hesitate to fight for the freedom and glory of their Motherland, for the freedom and happiness of their own children and children's children. Indeed, the whispering campaign is carried out by fools who do not understand the depth of feeling for the liberation of their Motherland our Defense Forces actually cherish.

### **To Civil Servants**

Even Indian Nationalism must serve the nation through civil servants. All the present civil servants can and shall continue to work as true servants of the nation. If they serve the people right their emoluments will not be less but more than at present. As

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the people grow more prosperous through National Administration the public servants will naturally participate in the people's prosperity in full measure.

### FREE INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

- The fundamental, unalterable, guiding principle of Indian Nationalism's foreign policy shall be to **respect, cherish and promote freedom everywhere**. It will ban imperialism by its own fundamental law.

Although Indian Nationalism is the sworn enemy of British imperialism it is at the same time the greatest friend of the British people. If British freedom were in peril, FREE INDIA will fight and make sacrifices to save it.

Free India will direct its energies to establish freedom and justice everywhere and through freedom and justice to disarm the world and thus win a permanent world peace for mankind.

Free India will see that its cultural children to the east in Burma, Ceylon, Siam, Annam, Cambodia, Island India, the Philippines shall be as free as itself and then form a cultural and economic union with them.

Free India will form with its blood brothers to the west in Afghanistan and Iran a similar cultural and economic union.

Free India will strive to achieve a permanent cultural and economic union with China, a great cultural colleague and co-worker of India.

Free India which is the greatest Muslim power shall take active interest in the freedom and happiness of the Muslim countries of Arabia and of North Africa.

It will use its good offices and bring about two unions, the one in Arabia and the other in North Africa.

Free India, knowing what persecution is, will offer its services to the Jewish people in establishing a secure home in Palestine, but as a part of the Semitic Union of Arabia.

Free India shall insist that the African people must be aided to develop themselves as speedily as possible without exploitation by any outsiders. Free India will not hesitate to undertake the obligation of becoming a guarantor of freedom to the people of Africa.

Free India shall, of course, have the most cordial feelings for the free peoples of Europe and America with whom it shall zealously build the closest ties of culture and commerce.

And in order to realize in full its national as well as its world program, Indian Nationalism will build a constitution, embodying its idealism as well as its historic mission. Such a constitution based on that of that great nation at the "bottom of the earth," the United States of America, is appended herewith.



**A CONSTITUTION  
FOR  
THE FEDERAL UNION OF INDIA**

**PREAMBLE**

**WE** the **PEOPLE OF INDIA** *will* to forge and maintain forever a **FREE, UNITED, INDIVISIBLE** and **ONE NATION** and in pursuance of **THIS OUR SACRED WILL** do hereby establish this **RIGHTEOUS CONSTITUTION** of the **FEDERAL UNION OF INDIA** in order to promote and guarantee full life, liberty and pursuit of happiness and equal social, economic, political and cultural opportunities to **ALL THE CITIZENS OF THE NATION** without any premium or disability whatever on account of any Citizen's or group of Citizens' Caste, Class, Color, Creed, Race, Occupation or Sex.

## **AFFIRMATION**

ALL RIGHTS and OBLIGATIONS deriving from this CONSTITUTION are imprinted in the bedrock of COMMON CITIZENSHIP, COMMON WEAL and COMMON SENSE of the COMMON PEOPLE of the FEDERAL UNION OF INDIA.

The FREE GOVERNMENT of the FREE PEOPLE of the Federal Union of India in order to be worthy of them shall exercise and enforce its right to see

That the COMMON PEOPLE are free and equal  
of each other ;

That they are intelligent ;

That they are enlightened ;

That they are prosperous ;

That their press is free ;

That their thoughts and speech are free.

# ARTICLE I

## MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL UNION

Section 1. All India known today variously as British India, Indian India, Portuguese India and French India is ONE COUNTRY and ONE NATION.

Section 2. In order that the mass of the people be enabled to achieve maximum unity, happiness and prosperity, the Members of the Federal Union of India, to be known hereinafter as States, shall be reconstituted on linguistic basis.

Section 3. The States reconstituted on linguistic basis from the present British India are these :

STATE	LANGUAGE
1. The State of Assam	Assamese
2. The State of Bengal	Bengali
3. The State of Orissa	Uriya
4. The State of Bihar	Hindustani
5. The State of Andhra	Telugu
6. The State of Tamil Nadu	Tamil
7. The State of Malabar	Malayalam
8. The State of Karnatak	Kanarese
9. The State of Maharashtra	Marathi
10. The State of Gujrat	Gujrati
11. The State of Sind	Sindhi
12. The State of Baluchistan	Baluchi
13. The State of the Pathans	Pushto
14. The State of the Punjab	Punjabi



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- |                                     |                   |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 15. The State of Agra               | Hindustani        |
| 16. The State of Ayodhya            | Hindustani        |
| 17. The Federal City State of Delhi | Hindustani        |
| 18. The City State of Bombay        | Marathi & Gujrati |
| 19. The City State of Calcutta      | Bengali           |
| 20. The City State of Madras        | Tamil & Telugu    |

Section 4. The States reconstituted on linguistic basis from the present Indian India are these:

- (1) The Federalized State of Kashmir with which are united all contiguous Hindustani speaking Indian states.
- (2) The Federalized State of Patiala with which are united all contiguous Punjabi speaking Indian states.
- (3) The Federalized State of Gwalior-Indore with which are united all the contiguous Hindustani speaking Central Indian states.
- (4) The Federalized State of Jaipur-Udaipur with which are united all contiguous Rajputana states.
- (5) The Federalized State of Bikaner-Jodhpur with which are united all contiguous Marwad states.
- (6) The Federalized State of Kathiawad with which are united all contiguous Kathiawad states.
- (7) The Federalized State of Baroda with which are united all contiguous Gujrati speaking states.
- (8) The Federalized State of Kolhapur

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with which are united all contiguous Marathi speaking states.

- (9) The Federalized State of Mysore with which are united all contiguous Kana-rese speaking states.
- (10) The Federalized State of Travancore-Cochin with which are united all contiguous Malayalam speaking states.
- (11) The Federalized State of the Nizam.

Section 5. The smaller of the present Indian states which are either unwilling to unite with one of the Federalized States enumerated in Section 4, or are not contiguous to them, may choose to unite with the States linguistically one with them enumerated in Section 3 of this Article.

Section 6. The territories known today as French India and Portuguese India shall be merged with the linguistic States adjoining.

Section 7. Thus as reconstituted above, the Federal Union of India shall consist of thirty-one States.

### ILLUMINATION ON ARTICLE I

#### (i) LINGUISTIC BASIS IS SOUND

The component members of the Federal Union of India are formed on linguistic basis in order to enable the common people, the masses, to derive the utmost advantage out of their common language. A common language as a vehicle of dynamic thought and action is so self-evident that the point hardly requires further elucidation.

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### ECONOMICALLY SOUND AS WELL

However, as some of the States are small from the viewpoint of population, there are critics in India who usually follow the Englishman's perverse logic—who raise objections to the foundation of small States on the ground that they will not be self-supporting. But the objections are as frivolous as the weather of India affecting the progress of the country. Such criticisms are based on the assumption that every State should maintain a governor and his secretariat on as sumptuous a scale as the present foreign governors, which is needless.

In a democratic and autonomous State of the Federal Union there will be no imported governor and none of his ostentation. On the contrary, the Chief Executive of the State, be he called Governor or Prime Minister, will be elected by the People, and his salary voted by the State Legislature. Because of this provision, each State will spend on its public servants according to its means and will therefore maintain a balanced economy. As the State prospers through the right efforts of its public servants, their salary prospects will automatically improve. Therefore, we need not worry how big or how small a State is, because it has been given recognition due to linguistic unity.

### COMPARISON WITH AMERICAN STATES

The smallest States, in Article I, Section 3, for instance, are the State of Baluchistan, the Federal City State of Delhi and the City State of Madras.

Baluchistan has a population of 463,492. But if the present Baluchi states join, as they should, the new linguistic State, they will add 403,719 more, and the total population will be 867,211.

The Federal City State of Delhi has a population of 636,827, and the City State of Madras, 647,230.\*

From the present state of things, one may think that these small population centres shall never grow into vigorous, autonomous States. But as the dynamics of this

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\* All these figures are from 1931 census.

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Constitution and of Indian Nationalism take effect, and the economic revolution is brought about, as it must be, as the masses change their old habits and attitude towards hard and honest work and material activities, even these small States will become so progressive and prosperous as to make the life of the masses worth living as well as to pay very attractive salaries to their public servants.

Compare the above small States with several States in the United States of America, the most prosperous, the most powerful country in the world today. In spite of ridiculously small populations these States are running autonomous governments and building a sound prosperity for their people. They maintain free and compulsory education, finest medical and sanitary services. They have created prosperous agriculture and progressive industries.

Therefore look at the list of the American States below together with their populations and their governor's annual salaries, and decide for yourselves whether even a small State like Baluchistan cannot become a self-supporting, progressive, prosperous and cultured State under the wings of our dynamic nationalism.

State	Population*	Governor's annual salary. \$**
Nevada† .. ..	91,058	7,000
Wyoming .. .	225,565	6,500
Delaware .. ..	238,380	7,000
Vermont .. ..	359,611	4,750
New Mexico .. ..	423,317	5,000
Arizona .. ..	435,573	6,000
Idaho .. ..	445,032	5,000
New Hampshire .. ..	465,293	5,000
Dist. of Columbia .. ..	486,869	—
Utah .. ..	507,847	6,000
Montana .. ..	537,606	7,500

\* All these figures are from 1930 census.

† The smallest State in the United States of America.

\*\* A dollar is normally worth Rs. 2/8.

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State		Population*	Governor's annual salary. \$
North Dakota	..	680,845	4,000
Rhode Island	..	687,497	8,000
South Dakota	..	692,840	3,000
Maine	.. ..	797,423	5,000
New York†	.. ..	12,588,066	25,000

### (ii) FEDERALIZED STATES

As regards the princely states in the India of today, eleven autonomous Federalized States are created out of some odd 600 of them, also on linguistic basis. The only exception is the Nizam's dominion which will be a federation in itself, formed of four linguistic units—namely, Telangana, Marathawada, Karnatak and the City of Hyderabad with Telugu, Marathi, Kanarese and Hindustani as the respective languages.

The necessity for federating the princely states for at least administrative efficiency and economy has been impressed on the princes during the last few years by Viceroy Linlithgow. In a free democratic India the process shall have to go a step further, and the present Constitution makes it more honorable, patriotic and profitable for our princes to fall in voluntarily with that further step. Both their dignity and privy purse are zealously safeguarded. There are also other rights and advantages conferred by the above Constitution which are far superior to the present mock prerogatives our princes seem to enjoy. These rights are discussed in detail in Appendix A, pp. 90-97.

### (iii) LINGUISTIC STATE BOUNDARIES

The linguistic boundaries of the respective States will be decided by the Constituent Assembly or through a Boundary Commission or Commissions appointed by the Assem-

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\* All census figures are of 1930.

† The largest State in the United States of America.

bly. But wherever a contiguous district or part of a district is contested by two States against the award of the Boundary Commission, the choice of the *bona fide* inhabitants of that district through a plebiscite shall be final if two-thirds of the adult population of both sexes of twenty-one years of age and over vote to join a particular State. Otherwise the award of the Boundary Commission shall stand. In fact such matters can be amicably adjusted within a year or two after the Constitution comes into force.

## ARTICLE II

### CONSTITUTIONAL FREEDOMS, RIGHTS AND SAFEGUARDS

**Section 1.** The Federal Union of India shall have no State Religion.

**Section 2.** The Federal Union of India guarantees without abridgement these inalienable and fundamental freedoms to every citizen of the Union :

- (1) Freedom of Worship.
- (2) Freedom of Speech.
- (3) Freedom of Peaceful Assembly.
- (4) Freedom of the Press.
- (5) Freedom from all types of slavery, political, economic or social.
- (6) Freedom from Fear of Arbitrary Public Authority.
- (7) Freedom from Economic Insecurity.
- (8) Freedom from Ignorance.
- (9) Freedom of Workers to join free and democratic trade unions of their own choice.
- (10) Freedom to own private property, subject only to the right of the National Council to regulate it in order to safeguard national and social interests.
- (11) Freedom to own tools of production, subject only to the right of the National Council to regulate it in order

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to safeguard national and social interests.

- (12) Freedom of private initiative and enterprise, subject only to the right of the National Council to regulate it in order to safeguard national and social interests.

Section 3. The Federal Union of India guarantees these vital rights to every citizen of the Union:

- (1) The right to equality before the law with equal access to justice in fact.
- (2) The right of free movement throughout the Union.
- (3) The right of non-discrimination against any citizen of the Union at any public places, including places of worship, institutions, offices and public services whether owned by public authority or private enterprise.
- (4) The right to serve the people and the Union and the Member States thereof to the best of one's ability and merit.
- (5) The right to vote directly and freely under a secret ballot, shall not be abridged or taken away except for treason, rebellion or other crime. Every citizen, irrespective of caste, class, creed, color, race, occupation or sex, of twenty-one years of age and over shall have the right to vote in local elections; of twenty-five years of



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age and over shall have the right to vote in State elections; and of thirty years of age and over shall have the right to vote in national elections.

- (6) The right to free, essential secular education through the language of the State in which the citizen lives and through the National Lingua Indica, by means of which he can improve himself and also contribute to the general welfare of the Union and of his State. In order to realize this right fully, boys and girls under sixteen are prohibited from engaging in labor for wages.

**Section 4.** The Federal Union of India guarantees these constitutional safeguards to every citizen of the Union:

- (1) The right to bear arms for the protection of Free India and its Unity and of one's home, is sacred, and no citizen of the Union irrespective of caste, class, creed, color, race, occupation or sex, shall be deprived of this right to bear arms.
- (2) No soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner prescribed by law.
- (3) The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches

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and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrant shall issue except on probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.

- (4) No person shall be held to answer for a capital or infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval or other defense forces when in actual service, in time of war or public danger, nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb, nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself nor be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.
- (5) In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which districts shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses in his favor, and to

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have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

- (6) In suits of civil law where the value in controversy shall exceed one hundred rupees, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the Federal Union than according to the rules of the Civil Code of People's Laws.
- (7) Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.
- (8) Capital punishment shall be abolished throughout the Federal Union of India and any territory under its jurisdiction for the time being.

Section 5. The enumeration in the Constitution of certain freedoms, rights and safeguards shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people or to be introduced in the future.

### ILLUMINATION ON ARTICLE II CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES

The philosophy of law recognizes that the vibrating rhythm of a living legal system can change the face of human society held too long in bondage of dead customs. The great social revolutions that created a powerful, live social democracy, with equal opportunities for all citizens in the United States of America ; that liberated the English worker and peasant from serfdom ; that made France the focal point of liberty, equality and fraternity;

that rooted out medievalism and turned the worker into his own taskmaster in Russia ; all these have enlisted law on their side in order to establish a more just, a more progressive society and to reap the fruits of their stirring ideas for the welfare and nourishment of the masses for whose good only a successful social revolution must take place.

More often than not revolutionary ideas and ideals become crystalized into a Constitution as in the United States of America and Soviet Russia. In France the ideology of the revolution was incorporated into the Napoleonic Code. In England the gradual wresting of power from the autocratic hands produced the slow evolutionary changes which expressed themselves in great statutes.

In India we have now before us the experiences of modern revolutions and their achievements. We can profit by their working in practice, and thus correct the folly of exhuberance or their early mistakes. It is in this light that the Constitutional Freedoms, Rights and Safeguards have been formulated in this Constitution.

This Constitution of the Federal Union of India is conceived to secure for our masses the best features of the social democracy and industrial power of the United States of America, of the political democracy in England, of the still unfolding economic democracy of Soviet Russia. Especially in the conception of constitutional guarantees are incorporated not only the past tested freedoms and rights but also those which are necessary to meet the particular needs of the present and the future of our country.

A study of Article II will disclose that no minority, no group need have fears regarding their future under the dynamic power of Indian Nationalism. There will be real, equal opportunities—economic, social, political—and in fact too, for all the citizens of India irrespective of caste, class, creed, color, occupation or sex.

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All the freedoms, rights and safeguards are self-explanatory. However, attention may be drawn to a few of them which underline the needs of our people today.

### SECULAR STATE

Section 1 makes the federal Union a secular State.

In a country where too much life is wasted by constant chatter of religion the State must of necessity remain neutral in religion, although that neutrality may become a positive force instead of remaining negative and barren as under the present British Government in India.

### THE LABOR CHARTER

Attention is drawn to Section 2, Clause 9, which provides for freedom of workers to join free and democratic trade unions of their own choice. The importance of this freedom is so far reaching that it will at once revolutionize both our social and economic system and bring about rapidly social democracy and industrial regeneration. This freedom confers on our workers all the rights labor throughout the world has been fighting for over two generations and has not yet fully secured.

### THE RIGHT TO SERVE

Section 3, Clause 4 confers upon the people the "right to serve" which foreign thinkers have seldom introduced in any known Constitutions. But that right is very urgently needed in India and is in conformity with our ancient social polity. Our present unfortunate people who are fighting for crumbs of office must be educated to fight for the "right to serve" our country and our masses.

### THE RIGHT TO VOTE

Section 3, Clause 1 introduces a new feature in the age of voting. It is designed to train the citizen to acquire experience in exercising his right and responsibility of voting, first in the local field, secondly in the State sphere and finally in National politics. The purpose is to secure intelligent voting and avoid stampeding the electorate on emotional issues, by keeping the too young and inex-

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perienced voters from casting votes on vital national issues without mature thinking.

It may be mentioned in passing that this stagger system of voting will not impose any administrative difficulties.

The right to vote is so framed that no subterfuge as adopted in the Southern States of the United States of America and at a time in England too, either on the basis of literacy, property rights, religious beliefs or sex, can ever disfranchise the Indian voter. The right to vote is clear cut and unequivocal.

### THE RIGHT OF EDUCATION

The right to free and compulsory education up to the age of sixteen for both boys and girls is an obligatory one throughout the Union. (See Section 3, Clause 6). No State can escape this obligation. This education imparted through the language of the State in which the child lives and through the national lingua Indica is going to play the leading part in revolutionizing the nation within one generation. Educating the children of the land is not only an obligation of the State but a right of the State as emphasised in the Affirmation.

This clause on education prohibits child labor throughout the Union, thus making sound education possible for our boys and girls. A corollary of this prohibition is that our labor will also benefit to the utmost by keeping children off the labor market.

## ARTICLE III

### THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT

The Federal Union of India based as it is on the will of the people, that is on a democratic foundation, having itself the form of a Republican Democratic Government, shall guarantee the Republican Democratic form of Government to every State enumerated in Article I, Section 3, and the Monarchical Democratic form of Government to every State enumerated in Article I, Section 4. .

### ILLUMINATION ON ARTICLE III DEMOCRACY A NATIONAL HERITAGE

This Constitution has taken into full consideration our ancient political philosophy of kingship which is a national heritage of every Indian, be he a Hindu, Buddhist, Sikh, Muslim, Christian or Jew, be he a prince or a commoner. By the natural process of taking over our ancient, very liberal concept of kingship and welding it with modern republican democracy a political synthesis has been created which will happily protect the rights of both the princes and the people. Thereby all need for conflict and distrust between the princes and the people has been eliminated and both have been turned into comrades, marching together to serve India and each other under the banner of Common Citizenship.

### LIGHT OF THE PEOPLE

Our princes, if they have studied their ancestors' rule, will readily recognize that their duty and right is to become the "Light of the People" ( प्रजा दीपक ) and not to degenerate into autocrats. Our ancients indeed recognized that it was the King's duty to work for and with the people but never against them. As many a king was

elected in old days in India, he was both of and for the people. Now it has become the obligation of a modern king to turn his administration into one not only of and for but also by the people. Only thus can a king in these days win and hold the love, respect and loyalty of his people.

Our princes have a happy example before them of the King of England who is the most powerful monarch of our day. His popularity, his influence, his dignity, his wealth, his security have reached the high water mark, precisely because he has made his people active partners in administration and because he has given up all dreams of autocracy. Our princes will therefore not dread and feel that it is derogatory to become constitutional monarchs, especially because they can never pretend to imagine that they are bigger than their Emperor.

### CONSTITUTION SAFEST HAVEN

The Constitution has not only preserved the dignity, influence and security of our princes but has also conferred upon them greater rights and opportunities which not even the biggest prince in India today enjoys. In the fast changing world of today, our princes will find the safest haven in this Constitution.

As long as our princes accept this Constitution and become Constitutional Monarchs, the people all over India will have no quarrel with them. We are all children of the same soil, born to be comrades of each other. The same blood flows in us. Therefore this Constitution imposes the obligation on all of us to trust each other and work for each other.



## ARTICLE IV

### LEGISLATIVE POWER

**Section 1. National Council.**—All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a National Council of the Federal Union of India which shall consist of a People's Council and a Council of Elder Statesmen.

**Section 2. People's Council**

- (1) The People's Council shall consist of Councillors elected every third year by the people of the several States, every person irrespective of sex, of thirty years of age and over exercising as elector a single direct vote under a secret ballot. A People's Councillor may stand for re-election indefinitely.
- (2) Each State in the Union shall be entitled to one People's Councillor for every million of its population or a major fraction thereof, with a guarantee of a minimum of one Councillor.
- (3) No person shall be a People's Councillor unless he is thirty years of age at the time of election, unless he has been a citizen of the Federal Union of India for ten years and unless he has been a resident of the State which he is elected to represent, for at least one year prior to election.

- (4) When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies for the unexpired period.
- (5) The People's Council shall choose its own Speaker and other officers and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

**Section 3. Council of Elder Statesmen**

- (1) The Council of Elder Statesmen of the Federal Union of India shall consist of two Elder Statesmen from each State of the Union, elected every sixth year by the People of the respective States, every person irrespective of sex of thirty years of age and over, exercising as elector a single direct vote under a secret ballot. An Elder Statesman may stand for re-election indefinitely.
- (2) Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided by lot as equally as may be into two groups. The seats of the Elder Statesmen of the first group shall be vacated at the end of the third year and of the second group at the end of the sixth year so that half the Council may be chosen every third year and thus keep in constant touch with public opinion.

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- (3) No person shall be an Elder Statesman who is not of thirty-five years of age, who has not been a citizen of the Federal Union of India for ten years and who has not been a resident of the State which he is elected to represent, for at least two years.
- (4) When vacancies occur in the representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies for the unexpired period.
- (5) The Vice-President of the Federal Union of India shall be the Chairman of the Council of Elder Statesmen but shall have no vote unless they are equally divided.
- (6) The Elder Statesmen shall choose their other officers and also a Chairman pro tempore in the absence of the Vice-President or when he shall exercise the office of the President of the Federal Union of India.
- (7) The Elder Statesmen shall have sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose they shall be on affirmation upon their honor and conscience. When the President of the Federal Union of India is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside. No person shall be convicted without con-

currence of two-thirds of the members present.

- (8) Judgment of the cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from the office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the Federal Union of India or any State thereof, but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment and punishment according to law.

**Section 4. Time, Manner, and Place of Election**

- (1) The time and manner of holding elections for the People's Councillors, Elder Statesmen and all other elective offices shall be uniform throughout the Federal Union and prescribed by law by the National Council but the places shall be prescribed by the respective State legislatures.
- (2) The National Council shall assemble at least twice every year with an interval of not more than six months between two sessions.

**Section 5. Procedure**

- (1) Each Council shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be

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authorized to compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties as each Council may provide.

- (2) Each Council may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds expel a member.
- (3) Each Council shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and yeas and nays of the members of either Council on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.
- (4) Neither Council, during the session of the National Council, shall without the consent of the other adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the Council shall be sitting.

### Section 6. Compensation, Privileges, Etc.

- (1) The Elder Statesmen and Councillors shall receive a compensation for their services to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the Federal Union. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the

peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Councils, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either Council they shall not be questioned in any other place.

- (2) No Elder Statesman or Councillor shall, during the period for which he has been elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the Federal Union which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the Federal Union shall be a member of either Council during his continuance in office.

### Section 7. **Powers of Respective Councils**

- (1) All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the People's Council, but the Council of Elder Statesmen may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.
- (2) Every bill which shall have passed the People's Council and the Council of Elder Statesmen shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the Federal Union; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to

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that Council in which it shall have originated, which shall enter the objections at large on its journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that Council shall agree to pass that bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other Council, by which it shall be likewise reconsidered; and if approved by two-thirds of that Council also it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Councils shall be determined by yeas and nays and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each Council respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (national and weekly holidays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall become a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the National Council by its adjournment prevents its return; in which case it shall not be a law.

- (3) Every order, resolution or vote to which the concurrence of the People's Council and the Council of Elder Statesmen may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the Fede-

ral Union, and before the same shall take effect shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the People's Council and the Council of Elder-Statesmen, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

### ILLUMINATION ON ARTICLE IV CHECKS AND BALANCE

Like its original, the Constitution of the United States of America, this Constitution has also been constructed on checks and balance of power.

While the National Council is all powerful in all matters, the Executive and the Supreme Court act as a restraining influence on the Legislature in upholding the Constitution.

While the Executive can restrain the Legislature by exercising his veto the National Council can assert its power by repassing the vetoed measure by a two-thirds majority. See Section 7, Clause 2.

Above all, the Supreme Court composed of non-political, independent judges of the highest reputation in the land remain the zealous guardians of the Constitution against both the Legislature and the Executive.

Thus the citizen is always assured the full protection of the Constitution with his rights and opportunities preserved inviolate and unmolested.

### EQUALITY OF STATES

While full recognition is given to the will of the people as the only and true sanction behind the Federal Union and State Government, equality has been granted to the States irrespective of their size and population through the Council of Elder Statesmen. Each State in the Union



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elects two Elder Statesmen who become the watchdogs of the interests and rights of their State. Thus, the State, however small, need never feel that its voice in the National Administration is ineffective. In fact, small States may have deciding influence in national affairs. All those who know the history of the American Senate, equivalent of the Council of Elder Statesmen in this Constitution, will agree that some of the most virile, far-sighted, liberal and dynamic Senators have hailed from very, very small States.

### CONVENTION ON MINORITIES

This provision of equal status for all States will put a quietus on the nervous agitation on the part of small sections of our people who are crying for the moon in their childish fear. This provision can further be made use of by each State to solve the minority problems, if any, within its own boundaries.

If any minority party is fearful of the majority in a State, the majority may by convention allow the minority or minorities to have one Elder Statesman till the latter's fear is overcome, thus conceding equality to the minority. If there are more than one minority party, the Elder Statesmanship may be rotated among them.

However, all groups and parties in the country will discover that under this Constitution there will be no tyranny of one group over another nor any of them will be deprived of equal opportunities to live a full life.

## ARTICLE V

### POWERS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

#### Section 1. **The National Council shall have power**

- (1) To lay and collect taxes, including income tax from whatever sources derived, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the Federal Union of India, but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the Federal Union.
- (2) To borrow money on the credit of the Federal Union.
- (3) To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States of the Union.
- (4) To establish a uniform rule of naturalization and citizenship throughout the Federal Union.
- (5) To establish uniform laws of bankruptcies throughout the Federal Union.
- (6) To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin.
- (7) To fix the standard of weights and measures uniformly throughout the Federal Union on a scientific basis.
- (8) To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and coin of the Federal Union.
- (9) To establish post offices and post roads.
- (10) To establish, own, let or operate

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telegraphs, cables, radiographs, telephone, broadcasting and other means of modern communications.

- (11) To establish, acquire, own, operate, lease, let, control and regulate railways, bus routes, tramways, airways, waterways together with entire equipment and other means of transport.
- (12) To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited periods to authors and inventors the exclusive rights to their respective writings and inventions.
- (13) To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court. .
- (14) To codify into a unified and uniform Code of People's Laws, both civil and criminal, out of the present multiplicity of systems such as Hindu law, Muslim law, Parsi law and other communal laws, the British common law and the existing statutory laws, based on scientific knowledge and equity and justice for all the citizens of the Federal Union irrespective of caste, class, creed, race, color, occupation or sex upon which the Constitution of the Federal Union of India does not and shall not confer any distinction whatsoever.
- (15) To define and punish piracies and

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felonies committed on the high seas or in the air.

- (16) To define and punish offences against the law of nations.
- (17) To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captives on land and water and in the air.
- (18) To raise and support armies for the defense of the Federal Union but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for longer than three years.
- (19) To provide and maintain a navy, an airforce and other defense arms and units.
- (20) To make rules for the organization, equipment, discipline and regulation of the land, naval, air and other defense forces.
- (21) To provide for calling forth the defense forces to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions.
- (22) To establish a lingua indica and a common secular educational policy throughout the Federal Union, toward the execution of which the National Council shall make financial contribution out of the funds of the Federal Union.
- (23) To make uniform laws regarding the rights and obligations of marriage and

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divorce in the interest of the happiness of the individual as well as in the larger interests of the State and society.

- (24) To exercise sole power and regulate, control and direct the use and exploitation of all natural resources. The execution of the national policy shall, however, be vested in the respective States in which the natural resources are existing.
- (25) To make laws on all matters that affect the life and interests of more than one State of the Federal Union.
- (26) To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatever over the Federal City State of Delhi which shall become the seat of the Government of the Federal Union of India and to exercise like authority over all places purchased or acquired as a gift by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, air fields and other needful buildings and areas.
- (27) To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the Federal Union of India or in any department or officer thereof.

Section 2. **The National Council** shall observe the following restraints:

- (1) The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.
- (2) No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.
- (3) No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State of the Union.
- (4) No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another, nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear or pay duties to another.
- (5) No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditure of all public money shall be published from time to time.
- (6) No title of nobility shall be granted by the Federal Union. And no person holding any office of profit or trust under the Union shall, without the consent of the National Council, accept any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince or foreign state.

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### ILLUMINATION ON ARTICLE V A GOVERNMENT OF LEADERSHIP

This Constitution stands as mighty as the Himalayas against caste, class, religious, racial or individual tyranny or dictatorship. In order to translate into dynamic action and a driving force, the freedoms, rights and guarantees embodied in it, the Constitution has naturally provided for a Government of Leadership, and not of nonentities nor of cliques.

It is needless to point out that India which has been ruled for so many generations in everybody's interest but that of Indians, needs a strong determined government in order to sweep away the cobwebs of foreign rule and carry out the regeneration of our people effectively in the economic, social, intellectual as well as political fields. Experience of both the United States of America and Soviet Russia which alone of all the countries of the modern world have had to tackle problems akin to ours, has shown that a nation composed of innumerable elements requires a strong, unifying and binding national authority.

The National Council which shall be the Living Conscience of the Indian People and which shall direct and control the National Government shall however wield powers that concern all the people in general or the people of more than one State. Problems and matters that strictly concern only the people of a given State are left entirely alone to the State Legislature concerned.

### WORLD LEADERSHIP THE GOAL

India which was a leader of mankind in every field of human endeavor for over two thousand years must and shall reoccupy that natural position of hers. In order to become a leader of mankind India must forge through her own Government, a united people endowed with wisdom and understanding, freed from ignorance and superstitions, assured of economic security, made sensitive to their

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own and other people's freedom. Such a result can only be achieved quickly by a Government which has powers to exercise its will and translate it into sound action. And for this purpose the Constitution erects such a strong National Government.

### ALL NECESSARY POWERS GIVEN

The powers of the National Council are strictly those absolutely necessary for the proper, efficient, effective and economic functioning of a modern State. The problems of law, security, commerce and trade, shipping, transport, navigation, highways, railroads and airfields, armies, navies and air force, foreign relations, marriage and divorce, educational policy and so many other problems **that affect every citizen in a national way** are the **legitimate concern of the National Council**. No single State Legislature can be in a position, nor can it have means nor resources to execute these national functions either in the interest of its own local population or of the entire nation.

The powers granted to the National Council have been the outcome of a very close study of the expansion of the American Constitution and of the evolution of the Soviet Government as well as of today and tomorrow's needs of our own nation.

### THE EDIFICE OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

The grand edifice of the American Government was built on the blue print drawn by the Fathers of the American Revolution. But that blue print was transformed into a towering building that we witness today by the genius and wisdom of a great jurist, Justice Marshall, and by the urge for progress and freedom of the people's representatives in the United States Congress.

The Revolutionary Fathers could not foresee the need for a stronger National Government which would become a necessity to meet and solve the growing complex prob-



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lems created by the Industrial Revolution of whose coming and potentialities the Fathers hardly knew. It therefore goes to the credit of Justice Marshall's wisdom and of the sense of realities of the successive Congresses that they delegated more and more powers to the National Government, and the sanction for which they derived from one phrase of their Constitution "the power to regulate the inter-State Commerce."

### SOVIET CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

In Soviet Russia the General Secretary of the Communist Party which is the real ruler of the country, has been in effect the Constitution so far, and his vision and vicissitudes have determined the strength of the Soviet Government. In the main, it has been a very strong central government.

### STRENGTH IN DEMOCRATIC FOUNDATION

But this Constitution of the Federal Union of India creates a National Government as strong as our National interests demand and on a democratic foundation. Its powers are specific and comprehensive and will enable our nation to grow in peace, wisdom and prosperity, for the next thousand years. They enable it to execute the nation's will with vigor as well as speed, with wisdom as well as efficiency.

## ARTICLE VI

### THE EXECUTIVE POWER

#### Section 1. **The Presidency**

- (1) The Executive power shall be vested in a President of the Federal Union of India. He shall hold office for a term of six years. He shall be eligible for re-election but not for consecutive terms.
- (2) The President together with the Vice-President chosen for the same term shall be elected by the people of the several States, every person irrespective of sex, of thirty years of age and over, exercising as elector a single direct vote under a secret ballot.
- (3) The time and manner of election for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency shall be the same as for the election of National Councillors as provided in Article IV, Section 4, Clause 1.
- (4) No person except a natural born citizen or a citizen of the Federal Union of India at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years and been a resident within the Federal Union for fourteen years.

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- (5) There shall be no discrimination for holding the office of President against any citizen on account of caste, class, color, creed, race, occupation or sex.
- (6) In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the National Council may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.
- (7) The President shall at stated times receive for his services a compensation which shall be neither increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the Federal Union or any of the States or from any Corporation or individual.
- (8) Before the President enters on the execution of his office he shall make the following affirmation: "I solemnly affirm upon my honor and conscience that I will faithfully execute the office

of President of the Federal Union of India and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the Federal Union."

Section 2. **Presidential Powers**

- al*
- (1) The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of all the Armed Forces of the Federal Union of India. He may require the opinion in writing of the principal officer in each of the executive departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the Federal Union except in cases of impeachment.
  - (2) The President shall have power by and with the advice and consent of the Council of Elder Statesmen to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Elder Statesmen present concur; and he shall nominate and by and with the advice and consent of the Council of Elder Statesmen shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court and all other officers of the Federal Union whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the National Council may by law vest the appointment of such inferior

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officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law or in the heads of departments.

- (3) The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Council of Elder Statesmen by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.
- (4) The President shall from time to time give to the National Council information on the state of the Federal Union and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may on extraordinary occasions, convene both Councils or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper.
- (5) The President shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the Federal Union.

### Section 3. **Forfeiture of Civil Offices**

The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the Federal Union shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason,

bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

## ILLUMINATION ON ARTICLE VI

### THE IDEAL EXECUTIVE

Why is the Chief Executive of the Federal Union of India modelled after the President of the United States ?

### THE ENGLISH PRIME MINISTER

In England the Prime Minister is not elected by the people but by the party machine which often boosts a man pliable to its own will and interests and not to those of the nation. A strong man with ideas and ideals, with vision and farsight has no chance whatever to go to the voters and secure their support to come into power.

Naturally too, the party which has set a man on the pedestal of Prime Ministership supports him in the Parliament even when he is ludicrously wrong or pursues a disastrous policy. In the English party politics narrow, a-drink-for-you-a-drink-for-me loyalties prevail, and not the interests of all classes and elements.

The existing conditions in our nation as well as the colossal work of regeneration that lies ahead of us prevent us from aping the English Prime Ministership. And too, our National Council cannot afford to go to the poll on every adverse vote against the Executive. It will be too costly in a country where people for generations have been against everything and everybody and for nothing and nobody. The first thing we have to teach our people is to think constructively, act co-operatively and work hard.

### THE FRENCH PRESIDENT

The French President after whom the German Reich's Presidency was modelled is a titular head of the nation and occupies the position of a constitutional monarch. Although there have been more political parties than suitable names were available for them in the French

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language the French Parliament was not dissolved as soon as the Cabinet was voted down. Instead the President called in the next best political magician who could manage to secure the backing of a majority in the Parliament to form a new cabinet. Consequently the French Parliament was constantly busy shuffling in and out cabinets, which made for an unstable executive and created opportunities for incompetent and unscrupulous men to capture power. Instead of work for the nation there were only intrigues for securing power.

The German Republic which followed the French political system developed all the French faults and crashed down as completely as the French Republic itself did seven years later.

We in India who have many weaknesses to guard against cannot even dream of a system like that of the French Executive.

### THE SWISS EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The Swiss have an Executive Council of three members, each of whom becomes in rotation the Chief Executive for one year. It works something like the mayoralty of the City of Bombay. This system which has worked well in a tiny country which has managed to remain neutral for 800 years and whose wealth and resources are not such as to tempt its neighbors to covet, will be utterly unsuited to India. The country will have such a weak executive as to make either the bureaucracy or the military usurp the actual power. India cannot afford the risks of a weakling executive of the Swiss type which having insufficient continuity may demoralize the whole administration in the country.

### THE RUSSIAN DICTATORSHIP

Nobody at present knows or can predict with any certainty along which lines the present executive power in Soviet Russia is going to evolve. The President of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics is a mere figure-

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head. He does not even have the power of summoning any tsovarish to form the Government of the day nor can he veto any measure either of the Executive or of the Legislature which in Russia does not even legislate.

The Prime Minister till recently was a creature of the General Secretary of the Communist Party and held office and not power during the pleasure of the latter, until the German invasion of Russia when the General Secretary decided himself to become the Prime Minister. In other words, Stalin instead of conducting the Soviet Government from behind the scenes is now openly doing so. However, he has been the dictator all along.

One thing seems certain that the Communist Party will have no rival party in Russia to wrest power from it constitutionally in any predictable future and the man who controls the Communist Party will continue to be the real executive of Russia. The Communist Dictatorship which is the true successor of the Czar in the executive field will therefore continue to prevail indefinitely in Russia.

Every student of Indian politics will agree that there is not the least possibility of such an all powerful one-party or dictatorship ever arising here. The urgent need of India is regeneration, synthesis and growth and not strife, disintegration and death. Dictatorship will not suit either the historical heritage or the present conditions or the future needs of India.

## THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY

The American President together with a Vice-President is now directly elected and therefore responsible to the people at large. He is elected for a definite period of four years. He cannot be ousted either by his own party or by any adverse vote. Therefore he can devote himself untrammelled and unworried regarding an adverse vote in the Congress on his measures and acts entirely in the best interest of the nation and to the best of his ability.

The American President is fortunate in having freedom to build his Cabinet from among the best talent in the



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country, who need not be elected members of the Congress, nor politicians nor members of his own party. President Roosevelt has drawn for his Cabinet on bankers, stock-brokers, lawyers, professors, newspaper men, social workers, farmers, labor leaders, democrats, republicans, radicals and women and these Cabinet members have come from the east and the west, the north and the south as well as the center. Thus a well balanced cabinet representing and understanding the needs of various interests and sections of the people is formed in the United States. That is the secret of the phenomenal strength and progressive working of the American Government.

### INDIAN PRESIDENCY AN IMPROVEMENT

The United States of America and the Federal Union of India are alike in the extent of territory, in the variety of racial stock, religious denominations, climate and resources, in the approach to the problems of life and so on. Both the American and Indian peoples would prefer to solve their problems peacefully, even through arbitration rather than resort to force. Therefore a system of executive power which has helped America to peace, progress and plenty is eminently fitted to help India solve her many problems and also to peace, progress and plenty.

However, there have been made certain changes in the concept of Presidency for India, which changes have been the outcome of an intimate study of the American Presidency. The main changes are these:

1. The Indian President will be elected more directly than American President. There will be no Presidential electors interposed as in the American system although it is today for all practical purposes a direct election.
2. The period of the Indian Presidency is six years while that of the American is four. The Indian President will be eligible for re-election and indefinitely too but not for consecutive terms.

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The reasons for these changes are these. The American President invariably wastes most of his first four years manipulating to be re-elected. Every American President has the ambition for re-election, knowing full well that once his presidency expires his political star has set once for all. Here is a double loss involved for the country. The first is that an ambitious president wastes precious four years for which the people pay. Also the American practice of blackouting an ex-president's political life deprives the country of the accumulated experience of an able executive.

The Indian Presidency is for six years and prevents re-election in succession. This means that the President goes to work wholeheartedly, knowing that after the expiry of his term he will have to wait for re-election per force for another six years. His prospects of re-election will actually depend on the record of service he has rendered to the nation, and therefore he must work hard to create an excellent record. He can thus remain an active force in politics.

The fear of the President becoming a dictator is more effectively eliminated in this Constitution than in the American.

### SUITS INDIA WELL

The provision of a President and Vice-President is an excellent means of building up political and social concord in our country. As the moods and problems shift, if the President is a Muslim or a Southerner or a Prince or a Worker, the running mate, the Vice-President may be a Hindu, or Sikh or Parsi or Christian or a Jew, or a Northerner, a commoner, a capitalist or *vice versa*. This can become a set convention of our political life.

The President can also use his power of building his own cabinet effectively and secure the ablest men and women to serve the interests of all sections of our nation with understanding, efficiency and speed.

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The President will be able to devote all his time, talent and energy to the service of the nation throughout his term of six years without eternally manoeuvring to pacify political parties. At the same time he can be in constant touch with public opinion in the country through the National Council which controls and directs him as well as through the triennial elections.

Indeed, the Presidency as provided in this Constitution suits eminently the needs of our nation. Our President, endowed with controlled power, can become not only a great and towering leader in the nation but also a great and towering leader among world leaders.

## **ARTICLE VII**

### **THE JUDICIAL POWER**

#### **Section 1. The Supreme Court**

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court consisting of nine judges who shall elect from among themselves a Chief Justice who shall preside as long as he continues to be a judge of the Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the National Council may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their office during good behavior and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

#### **Section 2. Powers of the Courts**

- (1) The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the Federal Union of India and treaties made or which shall be made under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the Federal Union shall be a party; to controversies

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between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming land properties or rights under different States, and between a State or the citizens thereof and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

- (2) The Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction in all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls and those in which a State shall be party. In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the National Council shall make.
- (3) The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State the trial shall be at such place or places as the National Council may by law have directed.

### Section 3. Definition of Treason

- (1) Treason against the Federal Union shall consist only in levying war against the Federal Union or any member thereof or in adhering to the

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enemies of the Federal Union and giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act or on confession in open Court.

- (2) The National Council shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

### ILLUMINATION ON ARTICLE VII THE GUARDIANS OF THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitution and all the freedoms, rights and safeguards it guarantees to every citizen of India will be constantly and continuously guarded by nine eminent, independent, non-political justices of the Supreme Court. The nine guardians of the Constitution become the guarantors against deprivation of equal opportunities, fair play, even and impartial justice to all sections of our people, to all parts of our country.

Unlike the present Federal Court of India which has only three judges, the Supreme Court will have nine justices. This number will enable the Supreme Court to represent every section of the country and be in intimate touch with all our national and international problems. Above all, the Supreme Court is designed to become the most august and authoritative body, not only in the affairs of the nation but also in world affairs.

## ARTICLE VIII

### STATES' RIGHTS

#### Section 1. **Observance of the Constitution**

Every State in the Federal Union shall observe strictly every provision of this Constitution and observe and execute faithfully all laws made thereunder.

#### Section 2. **Giving Credit to Laws of Every Other State**

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the National Council may by general law prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved and the effect thereof.

#### Section 3. **Powers of States**

Every State shall exercise all residuary powers without however violating or infringing the provisions of the Federal Constitution or the rights of the other States of the Union or of the citizens thereof.

#### Section 4. **Privileges of Citizens of Each State**

- (1) The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.
- (2) A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who

shall flee from justice and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the Executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

**Section 5. Restraints on States**

- (1) No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation, grant letters of marque and reprisal, coin money, emit bills of credit, make anything but gold or silver coin a tender in payment of debts, pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any titles of nobility.
- (2) No State shall, without the consent of the National Council, lay any impost or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws and the net proceeds of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the Federal Union; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the National Council.
- (3) No State shall, without the consent of the National Council, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war



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in time of peace, enter into agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power, or engage in war unless actually invaded or in such imminent damage as will not admit of delay.

### **Section 6. Right to Secede**

Any State of the Federal Union of India enumerated in Article I, Section 3 and Section 4, may, if it feels that after an experience of twelve years its rights and opportunities are not best safeguarded by remaining a member of the Federal Union of India, may secede from the Federal Union in the following manner:

- (1) The Legislature of the aggrieved State shall after the expiry of twelve years in the Union, pass an Act of Secession within three years, i.e., from the end of the twelfth year to the end of the fifteenth year, by two-thirds majority of its members present.
- (2) The Act of Secession so passed shall be submitted before the end of the fifteenth year, to the general electorate of the State on the sole issue of secession free from interference from either the Federal Union Government or Government of any State of the Union or of any foreign state, and if

the Act of Secession be approved by a two-thirds majority of the general electorate voting, the said State shall secede from the Federal Union of India without any let or hindrance.

- (3) If the general electorate rejects the Act of Secession the said State shall continue to be a permanent member of the Federal Union of India.

**Section 7. Admission of New States**

- (1) New States may be admitted to the Federal Union by the National Council; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the National Council.
- (2) The National Council shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the Federal Union of India; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the Federal Union or of any particular State.

**Section 8. Protection Guaranteed**

The Federal Union of India shall guarantee to every State in this Union

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a Democratic form of Government as enunciated in Article III, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature or of the Executive when the Legislature cannot be convened against domestic violence.

### ILLUMINATION ON ARTICLE VIII EVERY STATE ITS OWN MISTRESS

By vesting all residuary powers in the State Legislature (see Section 3) the Constitution endows each State of the Union with full autonomy. In fact, every State may have its own Constitution to suit its local needs devised by its own representatives as the States have done in the United States of America. An outline of such a Constitution, both for the States formed out of the present provinces and those formed out of the present Indian states, appears in Appendix A.

Freed from the onerous burdens of defense, foreign relations, fiscal problems and such other national affairs, each State can devote its entire energy to the welfare and happiness of its own people. In addition, every State, howsoever small, can depend to a considerable extent on the National Treasury and on the National Credit to meet its responsibility towards its own people in respect of compulsory free education, medical and sanitary services, roads, navigation, railways and other matters of importance in building a happy, healthy, enlightened and prosperous people. Thus, under the Constitution of the Federal Union of India, a State has the advantage of both complete autonomy as well as being a member of a great National State. Its citizens can rule themselves as well as have the privilege and honor of ruling the entire nation.

### RIGHT TO SECEDE

In spite of the utmost freedom and advantages deriving from being a member of this great Federal Union of India, if any State feels that its people's interests will be still better served by seceding from the Federal Union, a provision has been made for this purpose in Section 6 of this article. After an experience of only twelve years the people of any State may decide whether they will continue to live with the rest of the people of the Union of whose own blood and soil they are, by exercising their constitutional right of free choice in a plebiscite held for this special purpose between the end of the twelfth and end of the fifteenth year after this Constitution comes into force.

If the people of any State decide by a two-thirds majority to leave the Union, there is nothing to prevent them from doing so. If they do not choose to leave the Union, then that State will remain a permanent member of the Union.

Naturally, the right to secede cannot be exercised continuously as it may lead to political blackmail both within and without the very State and also may weaken the defenses of the Union.

### CALLING THE BLUFF

This right of secession has been incorporated into the Constitution to call the bluff of certain elements in the nation who are already trying to blackmail and sabotage the people's freedom under the false cry of "our religion is in danger," "our culture is in danger," "our political rights are in danger." This Constitution therefore provides a machinery whereby these elements can go to the people directly and submit their slogans for their approval or rejection. Let the people, the masses, who shall be the real rulers of the Federal Union of India, decide what is good for them.

## ARTICLE IX

### BAR TO IMPERIALISM

The Federal Union of India shall hold no colony nor dependency. If by force of circumstances any territory comes under its jurisdiction, control or trusteeship, the said territory shall become an autonomous State and even a member of the Union within thirty years of its coming under the jurisdiction of the Federal Union of India.

### ILLUMINATION ON ARTICLE IX

#### FAITH IN UNIVERSAL FREEDOM

The people of India who have suffered the bitter humiliation and the cruel exploitation by a foreign power in full measure and for so long, do understand that it is not pleasant for any people to be again humiliated and exploited. They also do realise fully that exploitation demoralises and degenerates both the exploiter and the exploited. Therefore, *bar to imperialism* the system of exploitation of one people by another, has been made an Article of Faith in Universal Freedom and an integral part of this Constitution.

While we may associate ourselves or unite with other peoples and nations, we shall only do so to share the fruits of our freedom and cherish and respect theirs, but never to deny freedom to them nor to exploit them in any manner whatever.

The people of India affirm solemnly that as long as there are slave peoples and nations in the world, the freedom of no people, of no nations, remains secure and inviolate or endures long. Therefore, imperialism is hereby outlawed by making it unconstitutional for the Federal Union of India to become ever an imperialist power.

## ARTICLE X

### HOW TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION

The National Council, whenever two-thirds of both Councils deem it necessary, shall propose or the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States shall recommend amendments to this Constitution, which amendments shall then be submitted to the general electorate during a triennial general election. The said amendments shall be valid and become part of this Constitution when ratified by two-thirds of the general electorate voting.

## ARTICLE XI

### SUPREMACY OF THE CONSTITUTION

(1) This Constitution and the laws of the Federal Union of India which shall be made in pursuance thereof and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the Federal Union, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

(2) The Elder Statesmen and People's Councillors and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executives and judicial officers, both of the Federal Union and of the several States, shall be bound by affirmation upon their honor and conscience to support loyally and faithfully this Constitution. But no religious test or avowal shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the Federal Union.

## ARTICLE XII

### RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

(1) This Constitution shall come into force forthwith upon ratification by three-fourths majority of a Constituent Assembly convened for this express purpose.

(2) The Constituent Assembly shall be formed of members representing the several States mentioned in Article I, Section 3 and 4, which members shall be elected by the people of the respective States in the proportion of one member to a million population or a major fraction thereof with a guarantee of a minimum of one member, every person irrespective of sex of twenty-five years of age and over exercising as elector, a single direct vote under a secret ballot.

### ILLUMINATION ON ARTICLES X, XI & XII

Articles X, XI and XII are crystal clear and need no further explanation.





# **APPENDIX A**

## **AN OUTLINE FOR STATE CONSTITUTIONS**

Each State in the Federal Union of India may exercise its own genius and evolve a State Constitution to suit its own individual needs and problems without however infringing the Constitution of the Federal Union of India, or the freedoms, rights, and safeguards it guarantees to every citizen, of the Union. Building one's own Constitution is the vital part of a State's rights through which the residuary powers vested in it by the Federal Constitution can be effectively assumed and exercised.

It is, however, a constitutional obligation that every State Constitution must be either a Republican Democracy or a Monarchical Democracy. That is to say, the people of the State concerned should have an effective voice in building the Constitution itself. Once a State Constitution has been erected through understanding, conciliation and compromise, all elements in that State can go directly to work for the prosperity and happiness of all the people therein.

In order to facilitate constructive thinking on State Autonomy and to reveal the great vistas open to a member State of the Federal Union of India, an outline of two State Constitutions, one for the States formed out of the present provinces and the other for the States formed out of the present Indian states, has been presented herewith.

### **I. CONSTITUTION OF A STATE**

1. The State Constitution recognizes, respects and accepts the entire Constitution of the Federal Union of India, without any reservation whatsoever as an integral part of its own fundamental law.

2. The State shall have a bicameral legislature to ensure an orderly and dispassionate consideration of the State problems.

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3. The State shall have a State People's Council with a maximum membership of 100 Councillors.

4. The State shall have a Council of Senior Statesmen with a maximum membership of 40 statesmen.

(Clauses 3 and 4 enable each State to determine the strength of its own legislature according to its need and financial resources.)

5. The legislature shall be elected triennially by a direct vote of every person irrespective of sex of 25 years and over on a non-communal basis.

6. Residuary powers need not be enumerated as the developing constitutional practice will make these powers specific. In the event of doubt or conflict, the Supreme Court can always be moved to clarify or adjudicate the issues involved.

7. The State Legislatures shall be competent to legislate on all matters pertaining to the State but not matters affecting the life and interests of other States or the citizens thereof, or the powers and principles of the Federal Union.

8. The State Legislature shall be competent to legislate, establish and control and direct local self-government in cities, towns and villages within the State.

9. The State Legislature shall control and direct the State executive to administer all the laws of the State and all powers of administration delegated to the State by the Federal Government for execution such as police powers, educational policy, natural resources, labor and agricultural problems, industrial relations, etc.

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10. There shall be a Governor and a Lieutenant Governor elected every three years by a direct non-communal vote.

11. The powers, rights, privileges and obligations of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor shall be similar in the State sphere to those of the President and Vice-President of the Federal Union.

12. The Governor may be re-elected indefinitely without any restrictions as to number of terms he may stand for election.

13. The Legislature shall vote for the salary of its Governor and of the members of his cabinet whom he chooses in consultation with the Council of Senior Statesmen. The said salary shall be neither increased nor decreased during the term of the Governor in which the change in salary has been made.

14. There shall be a State Supreme Court to interpret the laws of the State, to which independent judges will be appointed by the Governor with the approval of the Council of Senior Statesmen. Those judges shall hold office during good behavior.

15. The State Legislature shall by law raise revenues from sources other than those falling within the domain of the Federal Government, raise loans for purposes of public education, public works, etc. on the credit of the State, control its Treasury, disburse moneys and do all such other things that are not reserved for or covered by the Federal Government.

16. The State Legislature shall provide by law an agreed privy purse to Princely States which unite with

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it in any of the following manners:

(a) A lump annual sum payable quarterly out of the Treasury of the State to the Prince of the uniting state and his rightful heirs in perpetuity.

(b) or a percentage of the gross revenue receipts of the uniting state with an agreed minimum specified, the minimum payable quarterly and the rest adjusted at the end of each fiscal year, the sums to be paid to the Prince of the uniting state and his rightful heirs in perpetuity.

17. The State Legislature shall not impose any disability on the princes, their families and heirs, nor take away their rights of citizenship under the Constitution of the Federal Union, nor confer upon them any other rights or privileges.

## **II. CONSTITUTION OF A FEDERALIZED STATE**

1. The Federalized State Constitution recognizes, respects and accepts the entire Constitution of the Federal Union of India, without any reservation whatsoever as an integral part of its own fundamental law.

2. The Federalized State shall have a bi-cameral legislature to ensure an orderly and dispassionate consideration of the State problems.

3. The Federalized State shall have a State People's Council with a maximum membership of 100 councilors.

4. The Federalized State shall have a Council of Senior Statesmen, with a maximum membership of 40 statesmen.

(Clause 3 and 4 enable each Federalized State to determine the strength of its own Legislature according to its need and financial resources.)

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5. The Legislature shall be elected triennially by a direct vote of every person irrespective of sex of 25 years and over on a non-communal basis.

6. Residuary powers need not be enumerated as the developing constitutional practice will make these powers specific. In the event of doubt or conflict, the Supreme Court can always be moved to clarify or adjudicate the issues involved.

7. The Federalized State Legislature shall be competent to legislate on all matters pertaining to the Federalized State, but not on matters affecting the life and interests of other States or the citizens thereof, or the powers and principles of the Federal Union.

8. The Federalized State Legislature shall be competent to legislate, establish and control and direct local self-government in cities, towns and villages within the Federal State.

9. The Federalized State Legislature shall control and direct the State executive to administer all the laws of the Federalized State and all powers of administration delegated to the Federalized State by the Federal Government for execution such as police powers, educational policy, natural resources, labor and agricultural problems, industrial relations, etc.

10. There shall be a Royal Court composed of all the Princes whose states have been united into a Federalized State. The members of the Royal Court shall elect from among themselves either by annual rotation or for a specified term a Prince Royal to preside over the Royal Court.

11. The Prince Royal-in-Court shall have power to command and administer oath of office to the Governor

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elected by the people of the Federalized State to assume the executive power of the State for the term he has been elected. .

12. The Prince Royal-in-Court shall have the power to assent or veto within two weeks bills passed by the State Legislature, which bills after passing both the Councils will be presented to the Prince Royal-in-Court by the Governor with his own recommendation for assent or veto with reasons therefor.

13. If the Prince Royal-in-Court vetoes a bill, he shall send the same back to the Legislature through the Governor together with his and the Governor's opinions on the bill and the reasons for veto. If the Legislature after reconsideration repasses the bill with a two-thirds majority the same shall, however, become law without further reference either to the Governor or the Prince Royal-in-Court.

14. The members of the Royal Court with the exception of the Prince Royal for the time being shall not be disqualified from holding office, appointive or elective, or commissions in the Federal Union.

15. The Federalized State Legislature shall not impose any disability on the princes, their families and heirs, nor take away their rights of citizenship under the Constitution of the Federal Union, nor confer upon them any other rights or privileges.

16. There shall be a Governor and a Lieutenant Governor elected every three years by a direct non-communal vote.

17. The powers, rights, privileges and obligations of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor shall be similar

in the Federalized State sphere to those of the President and Vice-President of the Federal Union.

18. The Governor may be re-elected indefinitely without any restrictions as to number of terms he may stand for election.

19. The Federalized State Legislature shall vote the salary of its Governor and of the members of the Cabinet whom he chooses in consultation with the Council of Senior Statesmen. The said salary shall be neither increased nor decreased during the term of the Governor in which the change of salary has been made.

20. There shall be a Federalized State Supreme Court to interpret the laws of the Federalized State, to which independent judges will be appointed by the Governor with the approval of the Council of Senior Statesmen. These judges shall hold office during good behavior.

21. The Federalized State Legislature shall by law raise revenues from sources other than those falling within the domain of the Federal Government, raise loans for purposes of public education, public works, etc. on the credit of the Federalized State, control its own Treasury, disburse moneys and do all such other things that are not reserved for or covered by the Federal Government.

22. The Federalized State Legislature shall provide by law an agreed privy purse to the members of the Royal Court in any of the following manners:

- (a) A lump sum payable quarterly out of the Treasury of the Federalized State to the mem-



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bers of the Royal Court and their rightful heirs in perpetuity.

- (b) or a percentage of the gross revenue receipts of the State of each member of the Royal Court with an agreed minimum specified, the minimum payable quarterly and the rest adjusted at the end of each fiscal year, the sums to be paid to each member and his rightful heirs in perpetuity.

## MAXIMUM PROTECTION FOR OUR PRINCES

Our Princes who ought to have been the Lights of our people, the natural leaders of the country, the zealous champions of our national freedom, are today for the most part rotting wrapped up in the mantle of mock power and false dignity. Most of them, politically impotent though they are, constantly talk of their treaty rights with the paramount power, as if these treaty rights have ever made men out of them.

It is best to be frank with our princes. The nationalists who value the dignity, honor and freedom of every Indian, certainly like to see our Princes who are Indian first and foremost, and Princes accidentally, to become free, dignified and honored. It is wrong to imagine that the nationalists wish to hurt any Prince who wishes to be a free man and a free Indian. Mahatma Gandhi has been most emphatic on this point.

But the nationalists have no patience with those Princes who cling to slavery. A slave Prince is the greatest menace to India's freedom. It is better that our Princes of today should not repeat the follies of their forefathers of two hundred years ago who through shortsightedness and selfish greed sold our country into slavery. Instead of being the custodians of our national freedom they became the auctioneers of our freedom. Will today's sons of those unworthy royal fathers of 200 years ago mean to be equally unworthy? The nationalists hope not.

## A BALANCED CONSTITUTION

It is in order to blend the basic interests of our Princes with the fundamental rights of the people that a balanced Constitution has been herewith devised. Our intelligent Princes will and should quickly grasp the significance of the great rights and safety provided in their favor in this fundamental law of the nation.

How do the rights and safeguards in this Constitution compare with the present plight of our Princes?

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### GREATER SAFETY AND POWER

At present—

1. Our Princes are politically impotent and are really the servile creatures of the Political Department.

2. They cannot do any "wrong" toward the paramount power, nor can they do much "right" toward their people. And that is all the substance of their autocracy.

3. The only advantages are that their income is secure and their successors can continue to derive that income.

As against these, this Constitution offers:

1. An agreed annual income to the princes and their rightful heirs in perpetuity. If they accept the percentage basis, their income can increase as the prosperity of their people increases.

2. They are truly honored and respected as members of the Royal Court. They have the opportunity of becoming the lights, the guardians, the friends of their people through the Royal Court. They have no need to cringe before anybody. No Indian shall ever again cringe before another man.

3. In addition to playing a leading role in their own Federalized State they can participate in the affairs of the nation. According to this Constitution, they have a right to become the President of the Federal Union, Cabinet Members, Generals (genuine ones leading armies), admirals, air marshals, judges, ambassadors, diplomats, administrators, businessmen, captains of industry, artists, philosophers, scientists and anything else they desire, except becoming morons and parasites. Have they any of these rights today under their vaunted "treaties, sanads and engagements" with the foreign power before whom they crawl and cringe?

### PRINCES' RIGHT TO BE NATIONALISTS

No self-respecting prince, no patriotic prince, not even an enlightened selfish prince, can reject this Constitution as impairing his rights. For in truth, this Constitution liberates our princes from their slavery, protects their privy purse and of their successors in perpetuity, creates true respect for them, secures their dignity and honor, opens endless opportunities for them to become for the first time in centuries men of action and the natural leaders of the nation.

The place of all wise and patriotic princes is in the camp of Indian Nationalism. This Constitution helps them to merge themselves with the nationalists by clarifying the issues and guaranteeing protection to their abiding and legitimate interests.

## APPENDIX B

### A PATTERN FOR INDO-BRITISH SETTLEMENT

It is in the realm of possibility and it is even most desirable that the Indian and British peoples can and should remain friends, and work together in the interest of world peace and progress. But one pre-requisite for this friendship or close association between the Indians and Britons is that they must both be free and equal and that the one must not exploit the other. If the British are wise and ready to treat with Indians as free men and as their equal, even an Indo-British Union is possible. But it is up to the British to seek the friendship of India. A pattern for seeking that friendship is sketched herewith.

#### WHAT BRITAIN SHOULD DO

1. Britain shall recognise the *de facto* freedom of the United India forthwith and turn over the administration of the country to a provisional National Government.
2. Britain shall not interfere either with the formation of the National Government or its policies and administration or the construction of its future constitution.
3. Britain shall recognize India's *de jure* freedom and its Constitution within 12 months after the armistice has been signed.

#### WHAT INDIA SHOULD DO

1. The National Government of India shall resist all aggression with all the power at its command.

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2. The National Government shall permit the armies of the allied powers in alliance with India to use Indian soil as an operational base for the duration of the present war.

3. The National Government shall bear the costs of *Indian armed forces*— land, naval and air—whether they are fighting against the Axis in India or abroad from the day the National Government assumes power over them and onwards. Up to that period, however, the costs will be adjusted by a mixed Commission of 50-50 Indians and Britons.

4. The National Government shall guarantee the safety of British investments, pension rights and existing service contracts of Britons in India and all legitimate business and industrial concessions legally held till the outbreak of the war.

5. The National Government shall recognize the treaty obligations of the Government of India with foreign powers up to the outbreak of the war and shall recognize the internal arrangements of the British Government in England and its agent, the British Government in India as well as the treaties entered into with foreign powers after the outbreak of the war on their merit, the criterion being that they are convincingly in the interest of the Indian people or that they had been approved by the Indian Legislature before those obligations and treaties were entered into.

6. The National Government shall guarantee reciprocity treatment and equal opportunities to the British and Dominion nationals in India.

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### **INDO-BRITISH COMMONWEALTH**

As stated above, India and Britain can remain politically united, but only on the following basis.

1. The Commonwealth shall henceforth be entitled the Indo-British Commonwealth.

2. The affairs of the Indo-British Commonwealth shall be administered not by the British Parliament as hitherto but by a Commonwealth Parliament.

3. The Indo-British Commonwealth Parliament shall represent India, Britain, the present Dominions and the present Colonies which shall be raised to self-governing democratic status within ten years after the armistice has been signed.

4. The Commonwealth Parliament shall be organized on the basis of proportional representation with one representative for every ten million population or a major fraction thereof with the guarantee of a minimum of one representative for every member of the Commonwealth.

5. The Indo-British Commonwealth Parliament shall sit during November-February at New Delhi and during May-August at London.

6. The Indo-British Parliament shall be competent to legislate on inter-Commonwealth and foreign relations and defense of the Commonwealth.

7. India shall assume full responsibility for the defense of the Indo-British Commonwealth including financial responsibility from the Suez down to the Cape, and all the way to the ends of the Pacific.

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8. Britain shall assume full responsibility for the defense of the Indo-British Commonwealth including financial responsibility in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

9. There shall be no political, economic, civic or social discrimination against the citizens of any member state of the Indo-British Commonwealth.

10. India shall be free to develop good neighborly relations with Asiatic and African peoples in her own way.

11. Britain shall be free to develop good neighborly relations with European peoples in her own way.



## TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE

You, in general, and your present leader, Winston Churchill, in particular, have rightly or wrongly believed that if India becomes independent your country will be reduced to a status even lower than that of Portugal. This might, perhaps shall, be your fate but only if you try to cling to India as desperately as you have been doing under one pretext or another. But you have the chance of a much better status than your present one if you are wise and accept the settlement outlined above on a true democratic basis.

The late Dhun Gopal Mukerjee, the great Indo-American author, has reported a conversation of his with a modern English educated rishi at Benares in his "My Brother's Face." The sage cryptically observed on the Indo-British question thus, "If the British insist on staying in India they will have to go; if they are ready to go they will stay."

### DO YOU WANT TO STAY?

You are, of course, reluctant to go away as the bread and butter of most of you and the jam of all of you have depended for the last 150 years on the exploitation of India. You have been draining the wealth of India by way of unconcionably high salaries and pensions which you would never pay your own public servants; by way of controlling Indian railways, shipping, currency and exchange; by way of various types of favoritism to your industry and trade; by way of training your standing army at the expense of India; by way of blocking industrialization of India and interfer-

ing with her trade; by various other arrangements between your own government and a fictitious "Government of India" which is nothing but yourselves. The latest weapon of exploitation of India you have invented has been the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation which officially is boasted to be a department of your government.

### **TAKE REST FROM "WHITE MAN'S BURDEN"**

But what is meant by "your getting ready to go away" is that you forego exploiting India and drop the 'White Man's Burden.' **God knows that you have earned during the last and the present war the right to rest.**

If you voluntarily relinquish the right to exploit India, you will of course, stay in India and prosper more than ever before. The above settlement makes it possible for you to become the co-leaders of Indo-British Commonwealth rebuilt on the most democratic foundation in which there will be greater economic opportunities for you and every member of the Commonwealth. Have you the vision to see your future expanding greatness?

### **YOU HAVE DEGRADED INDIAN MASSES**

At present the masses of India have economically hit the bottom. Their standard of living is so low that your labor although not very highly paid compared with the American labor, is unable to produce goods cheap enough for Indian masses to buy. Look what has happened to the masses of the District of Bijapur, one of the richest agricultural tracts in the

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world, in the richest province of India, namely the Bombay Presidency, after 150 years of your rule. Read it. It is a ghastly affair.

### **A RUPEE TO QUIT BIJAPUR**

#### **Frightful Famine Conditions and Government Terms for Emigrants**

Scarcity conditions having become worse in Bijapur District this year, a state of famine has now been declared in the whole of Indi, Sindgi, Badami and Bijapur Talukas and in 60 villages of Muddebihal Taluka.

A state of scarcity has also been declared from January 1, 1943 in 60 villages in Bagewadi Taluka, nine in Hungund Taluka (including Bilgi Petha of Bijapur District), where the rabi crops failed this year.

Relief operations in the famine areas are to be carried out under the Famine Relief Code and the Collector has been instructed to report to Government further measures which he considers necessary to relieve distress with the least possible delay. A sum of Rs. 30,000 has been sanctioned for gratuitous relief for distribution to destitutes and inferior village servants and an additional lump sum of Rs. 25,000 for starting relief work.

#### **TERMS FOR EMIGRANTS**

The Government has placed Rs. 25,000 at the disposal of the Collector for the provision of free grain and other facilities considered necessary for intending emigrants. Six seers of jowar, or one

rupee in cash will be given to each emigrant on condition that he returns the advance if he fails to emigrate or returns to Bijapur within a month.\*

Read the last paragraph once more. It reveals the horrible fact that, apart from your inability to prevent famines, a man's life, the worth of his home and belongings, the needs of his one month's living—all amount to just one rupee or sixteen pence or 35 U.S. cents. Can human life be cheaper anywhere ?

### MORE MONEY FOR YOU

Now let us not get excited about the human sufferings in India. As long as you have made your moneys in India, the human beings here have not concerned you at all. Therefore let us point out to you how you can make more money out of a free India than out of the present slave India.

A person who is expected to live on 16 pence a month will not have much purchasing power. This you can readily see. And under your rule the purchasing power of the Indian masses will not rise much higher. But in a free India the masses who will be their own rulers, will improve their living standard quickly and dramatically, which will in its turn mean more purchasing power. Thus to a free and prosperous people of India you will be able to sell more and, naturally and without friction, make more money.

In this connection you also ponder over the fact that you do the greatest amount of business with the free United States of America. The **free people of America**, the best industrialized country in the world, buy more

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\* As reported in the Bombay Chronicle of December 12, 1942.

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goods from you because as free men they are more prosperous. It is time that you realize that a pauper population, though under your heels completely, is no commercial asset as well as a prosperous population which, although completely free, is no hindrance to world commerce. Free India will give you more business and enable you to make more money than ever and with India's good-will too.

Also remember that the free democratic people of America although they were forced by you to kick your yoke off, have come to rescue you, your freedom and honor twice. A free India, a friendly India, can do much more for you.

A free and friendly India remaining associated with you as proposed in the above settlement will bear the responsibility of defense in more than half of the world including the financial obligations involved in such defense. In the post-war world you will not be able to maintain the defense establishment that you have been hitherto used to. This is an additional reason as to why you must settle with India **now** as friends.

Are you then able to grasp the meaning of India's friendship and see the vision of a greater greatness awaiting you if you settle with India forthwith? If you do, you will not hesitate **to get ready to go from India.**

If you get ready to go from India you will certainly stay in India as India's friends and associates.

## TO INDIAN NATIONALISTS

To a large section of you who are disgusted with the British treatment of India, the above settlement may seem inadequate and unjust. But if that settlement is available without further struggle, your attention is directed to the following reasons which should enable you to accept that settlement both in our national interest as well as in the interest of mankind at large.

### TRUE HUMANISTS

What are these reasons ?

(1) You have been among the foremost internationalists and humanists both due to our national heritage and by personal conviction. Your internationalism is far above that of any other people and unselfish. Your internationalism is not a cloak for either a national advantage, or class advantage or race advantage or religious advantage. You have fought with the meagre means at your command and taken a bold stand for freedom on behalf of Turkey, China, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Russia and now Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Annam, Island India and Iran. You will also undoubtedly fight for the freedom and liberation of the colonial peoples in Africa who are terribly exploited by European imperialism.

If you ratify the above settlement wholeheartedly, you will lay the foundation of a real Commonwealth built on freedom and democracy. You will at once liberate the colonial peoples without further bitter struggle. You will enforce democracy in the Com-

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monwealth. In fact, this will be the strongest reason why you should accept the above settlement.

### **BRITISH EMPIRE IS INDIA'S**

(2) Another reason is that you have **no reason to run away from British Empire**. For in fact, this empire is more yours than Britain's. Yes, India is the British Empire. It has been built by the blood and money of Indians. Therefore it is your duty to stay in this present topsy-turvy empire, set it right on the feet of freedom and democracy, and preside over it.

### **YOUR RIGHT TO DEFEND FREEDOM**

Now some of you may object to bearing the defense burden. But you shouldn't. As it is, you are forced to pay in various forms for the British defense forces without any direct advantages to India. However by accepting the defense responsibilities, you will have an army, navy and air force which you will be able to use as instruments of justice and as strong arms in defense of world freedom and democracy. By accepting the defense obligations you will make India a manly nation.

It is to your national and international advantage to consent to the above settlement. If the British people accept it, you should unhesitatingly ratify it.

## **APPENDIX C**

### **WHAT'S AILING THE MUSLIM & OTHER MINORITIES ?**

The imperialists of Britain and their puppets in India are continuously babbling about the "great" minorities and "important elements" in India's national life, whose rights have to be safeguarded against the "tyranny" of the majority. But curiously enough, they never name these "great minorities" and "important elements". They all know that the moment they particularize they are doomed. Therefore they take shelter under the skirt of vagueness.

Let us now tear that skirt of vagueness off and drag to the open the "great minorities" and "important elements". If there are any more scampering up Britainnia's skirt, the prude will be forced to shake them off.

### **WHAT AND WHICH ARE MINORITIES ?**

A minority is a group numerically smaller than the majority. In this sense which are the minorities in India ?

### **ROLL CALL OF MINORITIES**

Firstly, there is the Muslim minority which numbers 70, 80, 90 or 100 millions, the figure varying according to the imagination of the "leader" or politician who is mouthing it.

Secondly, there are the Harijans, the Children of God as Mahatma Gandhi has so happily called them, who number 40, 50, 60 or 70 millions according to the imagination of the leader or politician mouthing it.



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Thirdly, there are the Indian Christians who number about six millions, no vagueness about this vigorous community.

Fourthly, there are non-Brahmins, the greatest majority of Hindus (Barhmins being scarcely 3 or 4 millions) who toy with the idea of their being a backward minority.

Fifthly, there are Parsis who number about one hundred thousand.

Sixthly, there are Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans who also number about one hundred thousand.

Seventhly, there are Jews who are said not to exceed 50,000.

Eighthly, there is the smallest but one minority of princes who number between 600 and 650 plus 600 or 650 "treaties, sanads and engagements with the Crown."

Ninthly, there is the smallest minority of all—"The Pound Sterling", with domicile in Lombard Street, London, and **not a native of India.**

Are there any more "great minorities" and "important elements," Britannia? Speak up.

## FEARS OF MINORITIES

Why do many of these elements seem to seek shelter in the hothouse of Britain's imperialist patronage and be afraid of withering away in the gentle sunshine of freedom and democracy? Let us examine their fears.

## FEAR OF THE MAJORITY

India as well as all Asia including the Muslim countries have been ruled and exploited by infinitesimal

minorities of the ruling dynasties and cliques for milleniums and the majorities completely forgotten. Now that the exploited majorities are demanding their due share in managing the affairs of their country, the cry is raised against the religion of the majority. But the issue of religion is a false issue.

It must be repeatedly emphasized that the future Government of India will be manned by and run for the masses irrespective of their religious affiliations. The needs of the masses, be they Hindus, Muslims, Christians or Jews, are the same. All of them need adequate food, adequate housing, adequate clothing, adequate medical attention, proper education, universal cultural opportunities, equal economic rights and equal justice. These needs, all religions, even when they wielded political power, have completely failed to provide for their followers. Instead, they have in fact always sided with the ruling minority to exploit the masses shamelessly. Religions today have even less reason than ever before to pretend that they can serve the masses and their real interests.

**Another important fact is that it is not profitable for a majority to exploit the minorities. It is all against the economics of exploitation.**

Under the Constitution of the Federal Union of India there will be only one majority element and that will be of the masses and not of Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Budhists or Jews. And the greatest need of this majority will be freedom from exploitation from economic imperialists, religious quacks and political demagogues, and therefore it will not compromise with or appease the latter on any ground whatever.

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### **FEAR FOR ONE'S RELIGION**

There are some who fear for their religion lest the Hindus may threaten it. The history of India belies this fear. Hinduism is not a proselytising religion. All the Muslims and Christians in India are converted from Hindus and not the other way around.

And moreover, Christians, Jews, Parsis and Muslims alike will bear testimony to the generous hospitality and tolerance extended to them by Hindus when the latter were politically powerful. Therefore fear for one's religion is a false issue.

In the new age that is dawning wide on India, there shall be no forced proselytising either through physical torture or economic pressure or bribery. Therefore it will be better for everybody to forget religion in politics.

### **FEAR FOR ONE'S CULTURE**

There are others who fear for "their culture". Unfortunately, 99,999 out of 100,000 of these people do not know what "culture" means and still less how it is going to suffer in a free democratic India.

Those who talk of Muslim culture talk of the Arabian or Persian culture to which the Hindumuslims (converts from Hinduism) have been unable to contribute anything. Similarly the Hinduchristians can only talk of European culture when they talk of "their culture" to which they have contributed nothing. In fact, their contribution to any culture—Muslim, Christian, Hindu, Indian or world culture has been nil. The only cultural roots the Hindus, Hindumuslims and Hinduchristians have are deep in the soil of Indian

culture, the heritage of all. Even if all Indians were Muslims or Christians, they would have still to go to the Vedas, Upanishads, Ramayan, Mahabharat, Kalidas and the rest of the great treasure house built by the Indian genius as their rightful proud heritage. There is nothing like it that they, as either Muslims or Christians, have contributed to any culture. Therefore, why do they talk of treachery to their national culture and proclaim that "their" culture is Arabic or European ?

### **BACK TO NATIONAL FOUNDATION**

The Egyptian Muslims have wisely gone back to their national Egyptian culture which is rightfully theirs. To the Muslim culture they have contributed nothing and therefore cannot claim it as their own.

The Iranis transformed Islam completely and imposed on it the Hindu-Aryan pantheism and thus naturalised it in their land. Islam in Iran is not at all Arabic.

The present-day Turks had to abolish the alien Arabian cultural ideology in order to emancipate themselves from its clutches and start all over again and build a new vigorous nation.

### **OVERTHROW OF CHRISTIANITY**

All the European countries had to overthrow the hold of Christian superstitions and embrace science and reason before they became civilized. Those who refused to give up Christian superstitions such as the East European countries, have remained backward and weak.

The Scandinavian countries, (Norway, Sweden and

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Denmark) had to go back to their pre-Christian culture of the Vikings in order to rejuvenate and emancipate themselves from the clutches of Christianity.

### **CULTURE EMBEDDED IN SCIENCE AND REASON**

The future culture of India is not going to be either Hindu, Muslim or Chrisitan. It is going to be dominated mainly by science and reason which will of course be enriched by the infusion of the best elements in Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim, Jewish and Chinese culture. But it is also certain that this new culture of a rejuvenated India will be built on the bedrock foundation of our ancient heritage. Neither Hindus, nor Hindumuslims, nor Hinduchristians can ever afford to be traitors to their blood, to their soil, to their heritage.

Therefore there is no element in India today which is in danger of losing "its" culture. On the contrary, every Indian has the assurance of participating and of contributing to the new culture of a rejuvenated India which shall again become the cultural leader of mankind and lead it to peace, plenty and happiness.

### **OTHER FEARS**

The other fears are of economic exploitation, unequal justice, class warfare, sex discrimination and so on. But none of these has anything to do with any community, minority or majority.

The Constitution advocated herewith for the Federal Union of India has in fact provided against all such fears of the panic-stricken "great minorities" and "important elements". All their legitimate rights have been fully protected without, however, impairing the rights of the masses, the real masters of the land.

### THE FOUR CRABS

While the Parsis and Hinduchristians and lately, the Anglo-Indians, have been depending on their own merits, education, industry and service to the nation in order to enhance their political rights, there are four elements in India today who have become crabs and are pulling down all those who are fighting for India's freedom. They are the Muslim League, depressed class politicians, the Princes and the Pound Sterling block. They are today doing their best to **prevent India from regaining her freedom just as rajas, maharajas and super-maharajas prevented her from retaining her freedom** at the expense of the nation and the people.

### THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

The Muslim League is fighting for what? For the Muslims, the Muslim masses, the Hindumuslim masses? Let us see.

There are two groups of Muslims in India.

The descendants of the foreign Muslim conquerors of India and their camp followers form one group. They look backward to their ancestral homelands—Central Asia, Afghanistan, Iran, Arabia and Turkey. Even today, they dress, eat and think in terms of their old countries although they have been born and died in India for so many generations. They are mostly landlords and are well off. Let us call them **foreign Muslims** which psychologically they still are.

The other group consists of those who were converted from Hinduism to Islam. They are the sons of the soil and blood of India. Let us call them Hindumuslims.

### HINDUMUSLIMS EXPLOITED BY FOREIGN MUSLIMS

The Muslim League which is said to be a creature and willing puppet of British imperialism, has raised the cry of "Hindu tyranny" and "Hindu domination." It tries to make out that the Muslims in India are poor, ignorant and backward, because of the Hindu majority in the country. Is it true?

The plain fact is that the Hindus as a majority have not ruled India for the last 600 years and over, during most of which the Muslims had an autocratic run of the country. During the last 150 years it is the Christian Britons who have been exploiting Hindus, Muslims as well as Hinduchristians. Therefore the Hindus could not have tyrannized over the Muslims.

The truth is that the foreign Muslims, after converting Hindus to Islam, did nothing for them throughout their domination. Their conduct was similar to that of the British who have done nothing for the Hinduchristians. Consequently, **the Hindumuslims were forced to remain in ignorance and poverty by the foreign Muslim rulers. The result was that the Hindumuslims were not able to make a single contribution even to Muslim culture, let alone to Indian culture or world-culture.**

The foreign Muslim rulers of India always imported their important political, military and religious officials from the country from which they came and ignored completely the Hindumuslims whom they were exploiting and their superior claims.

We still have a replica of this foreign Muslim rule in the Nizam's dominion. As the same unjust foreign

system prevails there, the ten per cent Hindumuslims are poorer and more backward than their 90 per cent Hindu brothers, in spite of their being Muslims and subjects of a Muslim prince.

Therefore it is silly to talk of Hindu "tyranny" and "domination". History is against the Muslim League.

Mr. Jinnah, who, backed up by the British Government and the Anglo-Indian newspapers, has thrown up stunt after stunt ever since the war began, has accused without evidence the Congress of "tyrannizing" over the Muslims. But he evidently has not realized or deliberately misrepresents, like a good Muslim that he is, **the fact that the Congress did during its brief administration of three years more for the Muslim masses than the Muslim rule did for them during 400 years and odd.**

Whichever way the Indian Muslims may look for it, the "tyranny of the Majority" is not discernible.

### MUSLIM LEAGUE'S BOSSES

It is the foreign Muslims, opulent, corpulent, indolent and ignorant as they are in an abundant measure, who have now captured the Muslim League. It is their ambition to rule India again and exploit both the Hindumuslim, Hindu and other masses of India.

It is the money of these foreign Muslim landlords together with the British imperialist support, which is backing the Muslim League. They have captured by flattering them as "their leaders," Hindumuslims like Mr. Jinnah, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Fazlul Huq and others to do their thinking and fighting for them. It's a pity.



### EATING THE CAKE AND HAVING IT TOO

Ever since the Congress agreed to give weightage of 30% to the Muslims at Lucknow because of their backwardness till they educated themselves, the Muslim League leaders have thought that it is their religion which has secured a premium. It is time that the Muslim League must be impressed that **no person's religion can nor shall secure a premium or suffer a discount** in the future polity of India. The cardinal principle will be that a person shall be politically rewarded only for the service he renders to the nation and its people.

The Muslim League leaders have become victims of a curious system of thinking. They have wanted weightage where they are in a minority and a constitutional guarantee of remaining a majority where they are a majority. And yet they have not realized that such a demand is derogatory to the capacity and dignity of the Muslims themselves. But such is their thinking.

### MR. JINNAH'S CONTRIBUTION

Mahomed Ali Jinnah, the present dictator of the Muslim League, embodies this very type of thinking. He does not want "to be ruled" by non-Muslims in India but at the same time he very much wants to rule the non-Muslims in his fantastic Pakistan. He believes that 22 per cent Muslims in India are a "separate nation", but 45 per cent non-Muslims in the Punjab and 47 per cent. in Bengal are a "sub-nation".

Mr. Jinnah's political thinking has been rather spec-

tacular. He has been always alert to borrow foreign statesmen's slogans and tactics. He played with Woodrow Wilson's fourteen points for more than fourteen years till Hitler gave him a clue through Sudetenland coup, and he immediately started claiming Muslims as a "separate nation". Till then, however, he was insisting that Muslims were not a "minority", although arithmetic has always been against him. But Mr. Jinnah is nothing if not audacious. His most original contribution to the culture of Islam, Islam at least as conceived by the Muslim League, has been in **political mathematics** through which Mr. Jinnah has prophetically declared that 22 per cent. of the Muslims are entitled, by divine right "to 50 per cent representation if the Congress comes in or more than 50 per cent if the Congress stays out."

In order to convince the country that his thinking is sound, Mr. Jinnah has rattled his sword, forgetting all the while that a Pakistan created by the sword can also be destroyed by the sword. But that has been his final argument or lack of argument. Dictators after all do not argue.

### MUSLIM SELF-DETERMINATION

A very recent contribution of Mr. Jinnah to Muslim politics has been the theory of the Muslim Self-determination to form Pakistan. First it was said that the Muslims all over India were to decide the issue of Pakistan, and now Mr. Jinnah says that only the Muslims living in the "north-western zone" and "north-eastern zone" are to decide it. But in both versions the non-Muslims will have no say in the

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matter even if they are forced to live in Pakistan.

The Muslim self-determination will have meaning only if the Muslims want to form Pakistan free of all non-Muslims and if all the Muslims from the rest of India move into it. Let Mr. Jinnah say that this is what he desires, and the nationalists will let him have his referendum without any opposition. For the world knows that a purely Muslim state has no magic to turn its citizens into wise men, prosperous men, happy men. A look at Afghanistan, at Iran, at pre-revolutionary Turkey, at Arabia will convince even the born blind that Islam is as powerless as any other religion to fight human greed, human cruelty and human cussedness and protect the masses against the predatory few.

### **BUT MR. JINNAH MUST TALK**

But if this is not what Mr. Jinnah wants, he must talk and tell the country what his Pakistan will be like if he wants the country to listen to him respectfully. Just to repeat the Pakistan slogan like a parrot is to believe in the hocus-pocus of the Arabian Nights.

Mr. Jinnah must specifically answer these points to disarm opposition of the nationalists as well as in the interests of Muslims themselves.

1. Is Pakistan to be a purely Muslim State ?
2. If not, what guarantee, will protect the non-Muslims ?
3. If the Muslim League guarantees can protect the non-Muslims in Pakistan, why cannot the same guarantees protect the Muslims in a United India ?

4. What type of state will Pakistan be and what will be its Constitution ?
5. If Muslims must have 50 percent representation or more in the Federal Parliament of a United India, will non-Muslims separately or jointly, have 50 percent or more representation in the Pakistan Parliament? If not why not?
6. The Muslim League demands 50 percent or more representation at the Center and in every province as its price for agreeing to remain in a United India. Then is it willing that Muslims pay 50 percent or more taxes required to run the Central Government and each provincial government ? **The obligations of the Muslims must be in proportion to the rights they demand.**

**NO UNEQUAL OBLIGATIONS, NO UNEQUAL RIGHTS**

7. What will happen to the Muslims in India outside of Pakistan if Pakistan is not going to be a purely Muslim state ? Is Pakistan going to use them as a handle to pick quarrels with non-Muslim India to promote its own designs or the designs of its allied foreign interests ?

If Mr. Jinnah still continues to refuse to give full details on these points, the country must perforce ignore his antics and ask him to shut up.

**FULL PROTECTION TO INDIANS**

As against the fantasy of Pakistan whose meaning till recently only Allah and His One and Only True

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(modern) Prophet Mohammed Ali Jinnah knew and now not even Allah seems to know, the attention of the Muslims in general and of the Hindumuslims, in particular is drawn to a definite Constitution of the Federal Union of India. This Constitution guarantees every citizen of India, irrespective of his religious profession and assures him of **the right to full life, liberty and pursuit of happiness.**

They have Sind, Baluchistan, Frontier Province, Punjab, Agra, Bengal and Assam as their majority states under this constitution. As residuary powers are vested in the member states they can build their internal life to suit their own needs. State autonomy conferred by this Constitution guarantees to them full freedom.

These autonomous States have even the right to secede after a twelve years experience if they feel that they can do better without the Union.

The Hindumuslim masses will have under this Constitution for the first time in their history, **equal and untrammelled opportunities to become full-grown human beings** whereas they had remained merely Muslims under the alien Muslim rule. **Under Indian Nationalism the Hindumuslims have nothing to lose but their poverty, ignorance and superstitions.**

## SERVICE THE CRITERION

Under the Constitution of the Federal Union of India a citizen's political and economic prospects will depend solely on merit and the service he renders to the Nation and the people. On the basis of service and merit, Muslims, Christians, Jews, Sikhs, Parsis or any

other community, however small, can look forward to rule India, but never on the basis of religion, race, caste or color.

### THE PARSI EXAMPLE

Look at the Parsis. On their intellectual merit and on the basis of their service to the nation even under the present handicaps imposed by an alien rule, they have been playing an important role not only in Bombay City where they are concentrated, but throughout the nation. Has anybody in India grudged them the representation which is a thousand times in excess of their population ?

It is now within the grasp of the Hindumuslims to become worthy Indians and great national leaders. They can at least hold the balance of power in the democratic National Council of India and thus wield more power in practice than a majority political party.

### PARASITES OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

Let the Hindumuslims ponder over their present plight which is not enviable. The Muslim League has completely paralysed their mind and body by its boast of seeking the arbitration of the sword. **But the sword has no religion and does not recognize either Allah, Jesus, Shiva or Vishnu.** It is therefore wiser to let that ungodly arbitrator alone in the interest of the Muslim masses themselves.

The only effect of the Muslim League politics on the Hindumuslims has been to reduce them to becoming the **parasites of Indian Nationalism.** Are the Hindumuslims happy to play this role of parasites and grab

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the gains made by the country through the blood, tears and sweat of the nationalists ?

### **CHOOSE FREEDOM OR SLAVERY**

However, the choice between freedom and slavery will be left entirely to the Hindumuslims. But Indian nationalists shall never be a party to their slavery nor let them drag the entire nation down and chain it to slavery.

Whatever the behavior and attitude of the Muslim League, even one Muslim nationalist will redeem his entire community. And there are fortunately hundreds of thousands of true and devoted nationalists among our Muslim brothers. Therefore the nationalists will continue to serve and fight for the true and abiding interests of the Muslim masses.

Indian nationalists are satisfied that they have never sought nor will ever seek to hurt the Muslim community. They will liberate it even against its will.

### **THE HARIJAN PROBLEM**

The Harijans have been the most oppressed group in the world. Their plight has been growing from bad to worse under the British rule. As Dr. Ambedkar said during one of his lucid moments in a presidential address at Nagpur, the British like the proverbial Chinese tailor copied all the tatters and patches of the Hindu Social System and perpetuated the miseries of the Harijans.

Since the time of the Buddha, for the first time Mahatma Gandhi has come forward to fight for the liberation of the Harijans throughout the nation. He

has truly laid the foundation for the complete and permanent abolition of the social, economic and intellectual slavery of the Harijans, which can be completed within less than a generation by a **free national government** of India.

But it has been the sad experience of all liberation movements that the slaves or their "leaders" slash against and slander or act as spies against the very men who are trying to smash their chains. Therefore, there need be no surprise if self-seeking Harijan "leaders" are working against and sabotaging the Indian nationalists who alone will achieve complete freedom and equality for the Harijans.

Again the Constitution of the Federal Union of India is there to protect the Harijans and all their rights.

### THE PRINCES

Maximum protection has been provided for the princes in the Constitution of the Federal Union of India. In spite of it if they continue to sabotage Indian Nationalism, they will prevent their Motherland from regaining her freedom, just as their forefathers prevented her from retaining her freedom.

If our princes are on the side of freedom and the people, they have nothing to fear from Indian Nationalism. But if they willingly or under duress side with alien exploitation of India or believe in retaining their senseless autocracy they will have to take the consequences. By their choice in action they will make known whether they are for India's freedom or against India's freedom. The sooner they realize that the people of the Federal Union of India will not



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remain half free and half slave, the safer will the future of our princes be. It is up to them to choose.

### **THE POUND STERLING BLOCK**

This smallest minority of all, the Pound Sterling Block, is also the most pugnacious. The most important thing to remember about this minority is that it is an alien element.

The Constitution of the Federal Union of India protects all the legitimate rights of this element which are safety of capital and dividends thereon and freedom from the threat of expropriation. But if it seeks extra constitutional or extra territorial rights and privileges, it will be sadly disillusioned. It need have no fear for its legitimate rights and it need not entertain hallucinations about special rights and privileges. The Pound Sterling Block will be as safe in a free India as it is in the free United States of America.

Even Englishmen, if they become loyal citizens of India owing undivided allegiance to this land, can exercise all the rights of citizenship without the slightest fear of discrimination. There is no question, there is no doubt, that Indian nationalists will safeguard the rights of all and honor all legitimate obligations of the nation honorably entered into by the outgoing alien administration.





